

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 29 October 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1393 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
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Honecker becomes a victim of popular protest

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

Honecker's ouster as head of the East Berlin party was a victory for *the people, a peaceful rebellion which* left the East German leaders with no choice. Popular protest forced Herr Honecker to resign.

But, as his place has been taken by Egon Krenz, a man who is hardly considered a reformer, the popular victory has been only half a victory.

The changeover is a bid by the ruling SED to respond to the loss of public confidence in the Party without renouncing the SED's claim to leadership.

So Herr Honecker's ouster is anything but a revolutionary move. Herr Krenz's task is to salvage what can still *be salvaged.*

This reflects Soviet interests, which differ in the GDR from what they are in Poland or in Hungary.

Mr Gorbachov cannot want the desire for change in the GDR to be brutally suppressed, but he cannot jeopardise the GDR's survival either.

The signs are that the Soviet leader engineered Herr Honecker's ouster. He evidently felt there was a serious risk the GDR might get out of hand if Herr Honecker were to cling on to power.

He dropped him for reasons of power politics and will have no compunction in dropping Herr Krenz should he fail to accomplish the feat of pacifying public opinion in the GDR, where the mood is one of upset, excitement and a desire for root-and-branch reform.

Herr Krenz must wonder how far he can go toward meeting demands for reform voiced more and more frankly and urgently.

Reversion to a total police state is inconceivable; that would surely lead straight to total disaster.

In the circumstances there can be no prospect of progress toward a free market economy and Western-style democracy. The GDR is not Hungary.

The outcome of the reform process in East Germany seems likely to be improvements here and there but not enough in any respect.

Will that be enough for people in the GDR? The signs are that the process of changing awareness in the GDR has gone much too far to be stopped by a little *more to buy in the shops and more* to read in the media than the Party line.

The authorities will probably quietly let people who are determined to leave the GDR at any cost do so.

But the mass protest *that* triggered Herr Honecker's resignation was by demonstrators whose slogan was: "We're Staying Here! Reforms Are What We Want!" The further course of events in the GDR thus doesn't depend on the SED alone.

People are rightly worried whether the protest movement will settle down to a complex and protracted process of change or hotspurs will feel that, now Herr Honecker has been forced by popular protest to step down, mass protest will accomplish much more.

Good may come of what is going on in the GDR, but it is nonetheless fraught *with danger. At all events, it is something* that is taking place within the GDR and would be best served by not being subjected to external influence.

Nothing but mischief can be done by *discussing the situation as though reunification* were just around the corner.

That does not, of course, rule out keen and anxious concern. The people who want to live in greater freedom in the other German state are, when all is said and done, fellow-countrymen.

German history was written when Erich Honecker resigned, having ruled the GDR for nearly 20 years, just as Walter Ulbricht had ruled the GDR before him.

In Herr Honecker's term, as only the second leader the GDR has had, the German Democratic Republic achieved international recognition and detente made headway. But in the end, developments passed Herr Honecker by.

It was, if one so wishes, Herr Honecker's personal tragedy that his brand of socialism failed to fulfil the hopes of mankind, hopes that had once been placed in this vision of a better social system.

Erich Honecker believed in socialism *even in its dogmatically degenerate* form. He believed in it while in prison during the Third Reich.

He will go down in history as a part of German history and its vagaries, an an*ti-fascist, a patriot in his way, but a bu*reaucratic despot who in the end no longer understood how people felt in the German state he ruled. It remains to

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Page 4: Bonn needs to decide where it stands in relation to East Berlin.



Go West young man (if only we could) . . . East German border guards at Berlin Wall. (Photo: dpa)

Scepticism and mistrust greet the new party boss

In the past Bonn has nursed relations with East Germany "for the people's sake" — regardless who held power in East Berlin.

It was bound to be the leader of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED), so human easements for people in the GDR could only be negotiated with the Party leader.

Bonn had grown accustomed to Erich Honecker. In his later years he emerged as almost a father-figure — until East German refugees began to walk out on him.

West German politicians from Social Democrat Herbert Wehner to the CSU's Franz Josef Strauss got on well with him, as did Helmut Kohl.

In the "community of responsibility" he so often mentioned he was, as it were, *a guarantor of detente who at times even* seemed to demonstrate a degree of independence of the Soviet Union.

Chancellor Kohl welcomed Herr Honecker to Bonn in 1987 not only with *the full honours to which he was due*; he also constantly offered to hold talks with him.

Herr Kohl has now promptly offered to strike up "intensive contacts" with the new SED general secretary and GDR leader, Egon Krenz, should "interest exist on both sides."

He does, however, expect the new man to pursue new policies, and in appointing Herr Krenz as Herr Honecker's successor the SED has made it difficult for both people in the GDR and the Federal government in Bonn to see the new management in East Berlin as signifying a change of course.

Herr Krenz was almost unknown in the Federal Republic, yet the first impression he made confirmed the assessment, widespread in the GDR, that he is an apparatchik, narrower-minded, more orthodox and even less flexible than Erich Honecker.

The Berlin *Tageszeitung*, the newspaper of the New Left in the Federal Republic, headlined the news of his appointment: "New GDR Leader is Election-Rigger and China Friend."

This was a reference to Herr Krenz having been responsible for rigging the results of last May's local government elections in the GDR and having endorsed, on a visit to China, the Tienanmen massacre.

From Left to Right and from Bonn to Dresden, people are agreed in wondering whether Herr Krenz is the right man to carry out the reforms demanded by public opinion in the GDR.

Herr Honecker, who stood for rigid resistance to change, has resigned, but his successor can hardly be described as a ray of hope.

He is seen more as a general entrusted *with fighting the rearguard action the* Party plans, after sacrificing Herr Honecker, in its bid to keep the process of

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■ INTERNATIONAL

Pace of change in Europe throws up a succession of new challenges

Europe is changing at a breathtaking pace. The chain of events leading to Herr Honecker's replacement as East German leader is but the latest instance.

It also shows that the Germans are increasingly coming to the fore of events that could herald a new era in Europe.

The initial issue is whether and, if so, how the new GDR leaders will see their way to embarking on far-reaching popular reforms.

But the pace of change is so swift that Bonn too faces a constant succession of new challenges.

This is due for one to the resurgence of Eastern Europe from rigid socialist structures, a process partly taking place in utterly chaotic conditions.

For another, the West is undergoing an — admittedly more gentle — transformation from international cooperation to (Western) European political union.

But the pace of change in the East is mainly to blame for concepts and plans that on both sides were only recently seen as the latest idea already seeming to be doubtful starters.

This applies both in the European Community and in Comecon and, if change continues at its present pace, will doubtless apply to Nato and the Warsaw Pact too.

Views so far on an all-European peace order or a common European house have been aimed largely at peaceful coexistence on the basis of the status quo.

The basic issue was how states with different social systems were to live alongside each other in secure peace and fruitful exchange. There were visions of cooperation.

Now one of these systems seems to be in the throes of change to the point of self-dissolution, that is no longer enough.

The West is keen to support and encourage change in the East and, if action is to follow these fine words, more will be needed than mutual tolerance and coexistence in the common house.

Economic and financial commitment is now needed, up to and including interdependence with socialist states that are sloughing their skins.

Bonn's Ostpolitik of 20 years' standing, a policy of small but gradual steps forward, has suddenly reached a turning-point.

In offering aid to all East Bloc reformers Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher are now helping to underwrite the success of this transformation.

In the process the reluctant GDR is being encircled as a precaution.



Bonn's commitments to Poland are not just attempts at reconciliation based on an appreciation of historic necessity; they are the building blocks of a new order in Europe.

Hungary too has been offered help, even if the circumstances may be less spectacular, and the prospect of assistance must surely have encouraged the first signs of change in Czechoslovakia.

Above all, Chancellor Kohl's promise of aid to the GDR leadership, a promise made during Herr Honecker's term in office, still applies to his successors as soon as they really embark on reforms.

Bonn is investing heavily in the new Europe, not the least of its aims being a pan-European future for all Germans.

The input cannot be assessed solely in terms of seven-figure sums or of bottomless pits.

The political groundwork lately laid, of offers to Eastern Europe of ever closer, firmer cooperation with the entire, flourishing West, is equally important.

Herr Genscher's new "Plan for Europe" is, in particular, aimed at institutionalising this cooperation with the European Community and with economically powerful countries throughout the Western world, including the United States.

The arrangements on which this is to be based have yet to be finalised.

In a mood of elation about Hungary allowing East German refugees through to the West, Herr Genscher first conveyed the impression that European Community membership would be open to all East European countries as soon as they had to some reasonable degree fulfilled the democracy requirements laid down in the Treaty of Rome.

Now, more level-headedly, the notion is that Bonn will at best be prepared to pave the way for associate membership.

Countries that are members of pacts other than Nato clearly cannot join the European Community as full members.

Bonn insists that its Ostpolitik is aimed neither at thwarting the European Community's progress toward political union nor at jeopardising the survival of Nato, which would send the Americans packing.

Whether Nato can stay as it is if the Warsaw Pact disintegrates and disarmament gains ground is another matter.

At present military pacts are mainly disregarded in visions of the shape of things to come in Europe.

In general, however, firm cooperation between East and West is to help gradually to eliminate differences between the systems, to make the Iron Curtain rise and, eventually, to make frontiers throughout Europe largely insignificant.

Herr Genscher refers to a "federalisation" of Europe that is envisaged as making frontiers pale in significance and, finally, reducing relations between the two German states to a federalist issue.

In the context of a European landscape of this kind, no-one would need to have any further fear of a German Question. But, despite the pace of change, this is all still a distant prospect.

It presupposes successful change to the east of the present divide and resulting stability in the countries concerned, including the GDR.

Both Mikhail Gorbachov's reforms and Egon Krenz's must succeed if the new European order is to come about as hoped for.

The Federal Republic must certainly play its part, lending constant assistance to help ensure success.

It and everyone in a position of responsibility must also dispense once and for all with all talk of borders and arcane references conjuring the spirit of German reunification.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 21 October 1989)

Kohl invited to visit Hungary

Chancellor Kohl is to visit Hungary for three days in mid-December at the invitation of Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth, Bonn government spokesman Hans Klein has told journalists in the German capital. The Hungarian Premier referred in his invitation to the bridgebuilding role his country hoped to play between East and West.

Chancellor Kohl wrote to Premier Nemeth at the beginning of October expressing appreciation of the reforms Budapest was undertaking and, not for the first time, thanks to the Hungarian authorities for allowing East German refugees to cross to the West.

The Chancellor noted that Bonn had already underwritten a DM1bn loan to Hungary.

Herr Klein said the Federal government was engaged in joint efforts with the European Community, the Paris Club and the IMF to negotiate more favourable terms for Hungary's debts, on which interest totalled $1bn a year.

Chancellor Kohl is to pay Poland a five-day visit in mid-November. Details of the visit, which will be shorter than originally planned, were still being finalised.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 October 1989)

Honecker's fall

Continued from page 1

be said that he didn't order his troops to fire on demonstrators when they rose in protest against him. That at least is a gratifying distinction between the German road to socialism and its Chinese counterpart.

There is, for that matter, a world of difference between what is going on in the GDR today and the GDR as it was in June 1953, when Red Army tanks were sent in to crush the revolt.

So the laborious progress from cold war to detente cannot be said to have been in vain.

Ralf Lehmann

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 19 October 1989)

Scepticism about the new man

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popular reform under control and to retain as much of its power as possible.

Given the spirit of rebellion in the GDR, regardless whether people choose to vote with their feet or to demonstrate in support of change, the attempt to stem the tide cannot conceivably work.

That is why people are agreed that Herr Krenz's role can only be a transitional one.

Antje Vollmer, spokesperson for the Greens, was able to say so more clearly than either Chancellor Kohl or the Bavarian Premier, Max Streibl, who is shortly to visit the GDR.

Politicians in positions of responsibility are bound to see Herr Krenz as the man in power, the man with whom they have to deal.

Even so, the situation now is different from what it was when the crisis began in the GDR. People there, spokespersons for the Church and for Opposition groups, view Herr Krenz with scepticism and mistrust.

He is a man whose rule totally lacks legitimation, and as long as this is the case the Federal government and the Bonn Opposition will have to exercise the greatest restraint in their dealings with him.

Besides, the Party is clearly no longer a monolithic block. It has reform wings associated, for instance, with the name of Dresden SED leader Hans Modrow.

Herr Modrow clearly derived no benefit from being rated Mr Gorbachov's favourite. Herr Krenz must be seen as a hard-liner who wishes the Soviet leader anything but luck.

What is more, the GDR is no longer a classical one-party state. The Party's power is steadily disintegrating as it faces growing challenges from Opposition groups.

Political parties in Bonn must bear these groups, which stand for greater freedom in the GDR, in mind.

Contacts cannot be limited to Herr Krenz. They must be extended to include everyone involved in the process of social change (or otherwise) in the GDR.

Bonn politicians have so far been in a quandary. They have felt obliged to shore up an unpopular regime as the only way to achieve human easements and improvements in living conditions in the GDR.

This dilemma persists, declining only in proportion as domestic reforms gain momentum in the GDR.

Continued momentum is the only circumstance in which Social Democrat Egon Bahr can envisage a protocol to the 1972 Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin aimed at closer cooperation with a view to greater freedom.

This is the only circumstance in which Herr Streibl can envisage a "freedom treaty" holding forth the prospect of financial assistance in return for reforms.

We must wait and see whether Herr Krenz is the man with whom a policy of this kind can be carried out. His inaugural TV address, couched in Party jargon, did not sound very encouraging.

He may have promised new legislation on freedom of travel but he continues to see Bonn's "insistence on being responsible for looking after all Germans" as an obstacle.

He may refer to more constitutional government and democracy, but he cannot imagine either in terms other than "socialist."

Fresh promises are accompanied by threats of old. So there seems sure to be an intermission in intra-German relations until such time as it is clear what sort of a person Herr Krenz is.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 20 October 1989)

The German Tribune
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.
Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.
Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.
In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ GERMANY

The 'professional juvenile' who has risen to the top in East Berlin

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Egon Krenz, the newly-appointed East German leader, has no difficulty in approaching people or in speaking off the cuff. Both are points with which many leading Communists have difficulties.

He can even afford to dispense with the Party jargon that is so beloved of some and so detested by most.

Egon Krenz can laugh too, more readily and more often than any other member of the SED politburo. His Fernandel-like grin is the hallmark of a man of whom it was rumoured years ago in the GDR that:

"He can smile and laugh more readily than any of our leading comrades, but he can also smile and laugh as he orders a death sentence to be carried out."

The new man at the top is firmly ensconced among the ranks of the GDR's aged leaders even though, by GDR standards, he is a sensationally young 52.

So he can hardly be considered a ray of hope by the masses who have lately taken to the streets in pursuit of change, especially as his text-book communist career has so much in common with his predecessor's.

Yet if Egon Krenz is to be given an opportunity of exercising a lasting influence on the GDR rather than just serving as a transitional leader, the differences between him and his political godfather, Erich Honecker, will be of crucial importance.

Erich Honecker, to his credit, fought — and had to fight — for his communist convictions in the Weimar Republic and spent 10 years in prison under the Nazis.

That brought him into contact with people who were opposed to the Nazi regime on grounds entirely different from his own. Born in the Saar, he was brought up in a united Germany and still has a soft spot for his old home.

Egon Krenz, in contrast, has never had to fight for his political credo and has never known any other society than that of the GDR.

He is a career man who belonged from the outset to the privileged class and was promoted within and by it. His links with and interest in the Saar, for instance, are as remote as those with, say, the Canary Islands.

Yet the two men have much in common, with the younger one serving as a loyal follower of the elder until an opportunity of ousting him occurred.

Both embarked on their political careers in the Free German Youth (FDJ). Each led the FDJ for nine years.

As FDJ leaders both men were appointed candidate members of the SED politburo, subsequently serving in the secretariat of the SED central committee, the true centre of power in the GDR.

As secretaries to the central committee both were in charge of security and both were groomed as successors by their respective Party leaders.

After joining the ranks of the Party leadership Erich Honecker had to wait 16 years before taking over from Walter Ulbricht.

Egon Krenz has waited a mere 13 years, but he may not serve as long a term as his predecessor.

Egon Krenz was born on 19 March 1937 in Kolberg, Pomerania (now Poland), where his father was a tailor.

At the war's end he was eight. He soon made his mark as a keen Young Pioneer and, in 1953, at 16, he joined the FDJ.

Two years later, aged 18, he joined the SED and the FDGB, the GDR's trade union federation.

He laid the groundwork for his meteoric rise as a Party official while studying, from 1953 to 1957. He qualified as a teacher but never worked as one.

After two years with the National People's Army, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant, he worked his way up through the ranks of the FDJ, serving as secretary of the SED youth organisation's central council from 1961 to 1964.

He went on to study at the CPSU staff college in Moscow, graduating as a social scientist. He became FDJ leader in 1974 and was re-elected in 1981 at the age of 44.

Fond of wearing the FDJ's open-necked blue uniform shirt, he was ridiculed as a "professional juvenile."

He was in charge of training and influencing the younger generation who are now voting with their feet and have left the GDR in their tens of thousands.

In 1971 he donned a suit, shirt and tie and joined the central committee. In 1981 he was appointed to the council of state and entitled to represent the GDR in external relations.

In 1983 Erich Honecker championed him and made sure he was promoted over the head of many a tried and trusted comrade to secretary of the central committee and full member of the politburo.

He has since been rated No. 2 in the East German leadership. A stocky figure with a somewhat bloated face, he has always conveyed the impression of being an ardent and sometimes overzealous model socialist.

He has always been around but seldom committed himself. He has proved flexible in several ways and always a stayer, a man given to grand gestures and empty phrases.

In other words, he was a model SED official.

In 1983 Egon Krenz is said to have been partly responsible for waiving the ban on West German pop musician Udo Lindenberg appearing in the GDR.

In the years that followed he increasingly made his mark as a hard-liner. When he visited the Saar last June his hosts were aghast as he dismissed the crushing of the democracy movement in China by saying:

"All that has been done in Peking is to restore order."

Yet shortly beforehand he had jovially encouraged his military entourage to mix with the people. "Don't only respond to orders," he said.

So much for Egon Krenz, whose keep-fit hobbies are cross-country running and cycle touring.

When four pupils were expelled from the Ossietzky-Oberschule in East Berlin a year ago, few had any doubts that a well-known father had played a part in the affair. Krenz's son Karsten is a pupil there.

The four who were expelled had asked whether, in the age of disarmament proposals as submitted by Cde. Gorbachov, military parades as held in the GDR were still appropriate. As Erich Honecker put it in his resignation statement: "The central committee and the People's Chamber would do well to approve Cde. Egon Krenz's candidature. He is able and determined to assume the responsibility and do the work required by the situation and the by the interests of the Party and people."

Stefan Geiger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 October 1989)



Haven't we done well . . . Honecker (right) and Krenz. (Photo: dpa)

Honecker: end of the road for a member of the old guard

Erich Honecker, 77, general secretary of the GDR's ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) for 18 years, resigned on 18 October.

Officially, he requested permission to step down as head of state and Party leader on health grounds. The SED central committee accepted his resignation.

Herr Honecker was long convinced he must on no account relinquish power; he has now been forced to do so.

Like the Bulgarian and Rumanian leaders, Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu, Erich Honecker, born in the Saar but given to an unmistakable Saxon accent, was one of the old guard of communist leaders.

He led the SED for 18 years, holding the post of general secretary since 1976. For 13 years he was both Party leader and head of state.

In his case there was even less doubt than in that of his predecessor, Walter Ulbricht: Erich Honecker was unquestionably the other German state's No. 1.

Spent 10 years in Nazi prisons

The German Democratic Republic today, with its good points and bad, is his handiwork, as even conservatives would no longer deny.

He was born on 25 August 1912 in Wiebelskirchen, Saar, where his father was a miner. He himself was a roofer and tiler by trade.

In the GDR he was referred to as plain Erich, disrespectfully or with a note of respect, but his popularity was limited.

In public he always appeared somehow awkward and ungraceful. Abroad he seemed unsure of himself too.

In 1987, just before Honecker visited Bonn and his native Wiebelskirchen, Ludwig Harig wrote from Saarbrücken, sounding a sad note of irony, that the SED leader had long lost his happy-go-lucky Saarland outlook on life.

Yet others who know from personal experience say he isn't at all reserved in conversation. He can be kind and easy-going. He is always well-informed and ready to give others a hearing.

He has been a Communist from his childhood. He never forgot the class divisions he experienced — and suffered from — in childhood and youth. He sought to change them along the lines of the infant Soviet Union.

Even vehement Western critics have rated him the most successful German Communist ever.

Even more crucial experiences that paved his way to becoming a statesman respected in East and West were his political persecution by the Nazis and the world war that Nazi Germany waged.

He was imprisoned in Brandenburg, north of Berlin, from 1935 to 1945, convicted of high treason.

Immediately on being freed by the Red Army he joined the Ulbricht Group, who had been flown in from the Soviet Union, and began to organise the Free German Youth (FDJ), which he headed until 1955.

He made the FDJ an SED "cadre forge" and was appointed a full member of the politburo in 1958 after two years' training in Moscow.

His name will always be associated with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Yet he did not go against the grain of East-West detente, which began 10 years later.

He identified himself with detente and came forward with ideas of his own, especially in intra-German relations, which is a point that merits mention.

In 1983, during the missile modernisation debate, he even risked a clash with Moscow by insisting on "damage limitation."

In walking his tightrope between demarcation and opening Erich Honecker is felt by leading contemporaries to have behaved as a German Communist and a man who was far from insensitive to the division of his native country.

Helmut Schmidt, for instance, wrote: "It seemed to me that as he grew older his feelings as a German gained in importance in relation to his ideological

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■ GERMANY

Bonn must decide where it stands in relation to East Berlin

What does the Federal government to do now the German Question is back on the agenda of world affairs? It must not only decide where it stands but also say so, says Günter Diehl, ex-ambassador and chief government spokesman during the 1966-69 Grand Coalition. He counsels flexibility on the Polish western border issue. Herr Diehl, 73, a writer and publicist, lives in Bonn.



Factors in the German Question: four-power flags fly over Berlin. (Photo: Rieth)

The memorable trek of GDR refugees to freedom the world has witnessed this autumn has given the debate on a European peace order within which the Germans' right to self-determination can find fulfilment a powerful fresh impetus.

The whole world gazes spellbound at the newsreel footage which demonstrates more clearly than treatises of all kinds what Germans in the GDR want: self-determination and freedom.

For the time being, however, everyone is wondering what we in the Federal Republic want, given that we have laid claim to act on behalf of the Germans who, as the preamble to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, puts it, are prevented from taking part (in the process of constitutional government).

Even for our allies and partners in, say, the European Community and the Atlantic alliance it is far from easy to gain from the many vague or contradictory comments on the German Question a clear view of our ideas and intentions.

That isn't just regrettable; it is dangerous.

The states, first and foremost those to which we are bound, by fundamental treaty terms, to act jointly, have a right to know what we have in mind.

The assumption that we can take our time has proved misleading. Hopes born of perplexity and convenience that an improvement in material conditions in the GDR might put a damper on the desire for freedom can likewise be seen to have been illusory.

The uncertain way in which we handle the concept of stability gives the lie to the dilemma. Stability of systems, including the communist system, has been wishful thinking on the part of many German politicians and businessmen. They behaved accordingly.

One may wonder whether they now understand the appalling lack of political foresight they showed in wooing people who had no legitimation whatever to represent the people they ruled.

Everything is now in a state of flux. A revision of the results of the Second World War is implicit in the call for self-determination.

That in turn coincides with the failure of communist regimes and the triumphant progress of the social market economy. These trends are interactive and developing a powerful momentum.

The idea of this energy being let loose triggers both fear and hope:

- Fear because we are not particularly well prepared for change, as shown by the uncertain stammering that has been many German commentators' response to this elementary outbreak of the desire for freedom.
- At the same time people themselves have proved to have a much clearer idea of what is happening.

There is no need to sound a note of gloom. German politics this autumn meets with the best conceivable conditions in which to bond building blocks for a political target.

In all the important, trailblazing documents of the post-war period freedom ranks first and foremost among our political targets. The decision to defend this freedom if need be was an indispensable corollary.

The Federal Republic of Germany at the same time attached equal importance to the restoration of German unity as an objective of no less importance.

Unity was to restored in freedom, thereby offering fellow-countrymen in the GDR the freedom they have not enjoyed since 1933 despite the defeat of National Socialist dictatorship.

They were switched from Nazi dictatorship to Red dictatorship without ever being asked what they wanted.

German politics attaches such priority to preserving peace that it has expressly and consistently advocated reunification solely by peaceful means via self-determination.

That is and continues to be a testimony to the good sense of statesmanship in that this limitation of means is by no means a matter of course.

If freedom can justifiably be defended where it is threatened, there is every justification, political and ethical, for fighting for it where it is withheld.

In the wake of the Second World War German governments have realised the need to limit themselves by renouncing the use of force. It was on the understanding that we would renounce the use of force that our allies agreed to endorse the aim of German reunification in freedom and self-determination.

In the major treaties that marked the Germans' return to the status of partnership on the basis of equal rights and equal respect in the international community of free nations the Federal Republic's contribution consisted of playing its part in the defence of the democratically governed world on both sides of the Atlantic.

The corresponding concession made by Bonn's allies was that of endorsing German reunification as a policy target.

This state of affairs cannot be rated highly enough. It must be accepted as the bedrock of all considerations and measures aimed at solving the German Question.

Since the early 1950s this fundamental consensus has been crowded out of the public consciousness by a flood of often intentionally vague and confusing comments. As a result we have repeatedly been surprised by what has actually happened in the communist-ruled part of Germany and in neighbouring Eastern European countries because we have mistaken the fine words of our detente policy and Ostpolitik for the reality.

Nowadays every novice says, in connection with security and foreign affairs, that treaties must be respected, which is no less a matter of course than that treaties may also be revised.

Treaties, in this connection, are invariably taken to mean treaties with communist-ruled states. Politicians who stress this point see treaties concluded with communist regimes as being higher in quality than those concluded with our allies.

In many cases they are not even aware of the preamble to and Article 7 of the 1954 treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the three Western Allies.

The preamble states:

- "that the joint objective of the signatory states is to integrate the Federal Republic of Germany into the European Community on the basis of equality, the Community itself forming part of the emerging Atlantic community;
- "that the reunification of a totally free and united Germany by peaceful means and the negotiation of a freely agreed peace settlement remain a fundamental and joint objective of the signatory states even if circumstances beyond their control may at present stand in their way."

Article 7 states that:

- "The signatory states are agreed that a freely negotiated peace settlement between Germany and its former enemies applying to all Germany and forming the basis of a lasting peace is a fundamental joint policy objective.
- "They are further agreed that a final decision on Germany's borders must be postponed until such settlement is negotiated."

Article 7, paragraph 2, continues:

- "Until the conclusion of a peace settlement the signatory states will join forces with a view to arriving by peaceful means at their common objective: a reunited Germany with a free and democratic constitution, such as is in force in the Federal Republic, and integrated as a member of the European Community."

Viewed in this treaty light, the present German and international dispute on our behaviour with the GDR and our relations with Poland must seem aimless and confused.

Let us note that when the Polish government calls on the Federal Republic of Germany to recognise Poland's present western borders it is logically anticipating a merger of the Federal Republic and the present GDR into an all-German state.

If, on the contrary, it were to work on the assumption that two German states continued to exist, then we would have no common border with Poland and the GDR's commitment to the Oder-Neisse line in the Gleiwitz Treaty would be adequate for Poland.

So it is high time for the present Polish government at least to say that it acknowledges the German people's right to self-determination.

That would be the logical corollary to the renunciation of territory the Brandt-Scheel government undertook toward Poland on the Federal Republic's behalf.

Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel did at least realise that they had no right to act on behalf of an all-German government and no legitimation to negotiate, on behalf of an all-German parliament, substantial features of a peace treaty, such as territorial provisions, in advance.

That is why they retained their all-German proviso. It was, for one, an essential requirement of international and constitutional law. It was also a desideratum of political acumen and individual appreciation of the position.

No-one knows what shape an all-German parliament may take and which way voters may vote when their generation gains the opportunity of doing so.

We can but hope that future members of parliament will take a fair and accurate view of our intentions. In the final analysis we cannot now arrive at decisions that will be binding on them at some future date.

What now matters is to nail our colours to the mast, to restate a German viewpoint, to state where we stand.

A tried and tested means of doing so, one that can be assured of the keenest international attention and respect, is the method adopted by Federal Chancellor

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Adenauer, Dulles, Mendes-France and Eden sign in Paris in 1954 a treaty which, among other issues, deals with German unity. (Photo: Ullstein)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Questions about Nato and its capacity to cope with a changing Europe

Is Nato the proper tool for the elaboration of a common western policy towards changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe?

Can a defence alliance whose priority task during the past forty years has been to counter the Warsaw Pact's military threat to Western Europe cope with the size of tasks facing Europe today?

Is Nato more than just the security policy link between Western Europe and America?

In view of the changing roles of the two superpowers in a "European house" stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals will Nato have to fundamentally alter its character to ensure its continued existence in the 21st century?

Questions like this preoccupy the minds of policymakers at the alliance headquarters in Brussels to a much greater extent than initially meets the eye.

The "overall concept" adopted during the Nato summit was primarily intended as a basis for the development of informed political opinion. It was planned as more than just a deferral of the discussion on the modernisation of short-range weapons.

But how much of this was realised by the public in the sixteen alliance member states?

What has taken place in Eastern Europe since the Nato summit extends far beyond the formulas set forth in the "overall concept."

History is being made much faster in reality than in the conceptual constructs of the theoreticians in Brussels, Washington, Bonn, Paris or London.

They appear to be bogged down in a dilemma between the priority of military and strategic considerations and the realisation that convincing responses are needed to the rapid pace of change to make sure that the alliance's political objectives remain credible.

Today, no Nato general secretary would describe the alliance's *raison d'etre* by referring to Lord Ismay's remark that it serves to "keep the Russians out of Europe, the Americans in and the Germans under control."

The military premises by and large retain their validity. However, if the most important arms control negotiations, the Vienna conference on stability between East and West, are to be successful they must provide a changing Europe with a basis for its future security policy and drop the scenarios of mutual threat devised by Nato and the Warsaw Pact during the decades of the Cold War.

Thinking in the familiar terms of arms categories and a military translation into reality of mutual ideologies must be overcome.

The military warn: "Do not cast aside the familiar orders of magnitude, otherwise you will undermine the justification of our existence!"

Nato general secretary, Manfred Wörner, also untiringly warns against any debilitation of the alliance consensus and against overrating the real implications of Gorbachov's policies.

He reminds the West that credible defence must remain the most important basis of a changing all-European security concept.

It almost looks as if he is shrinking back from the realisation of the "overall concept", since this would change the true purpose of Nato and could nurture false hopes on the part of the Germans.

General Galvin, Nato's commander-in-chief, has insisted that a realisation of the goals of the Vienna negotiations cannot mean dropping existing defence concepts: above all, a credible nuclear deterrence must be retained.

Nato's military experts have pointed out that although the Soviet Union has started to scale down its tank superiority this will ultimately result in a smaller but more modern and more powerful army.

The military cannot be expected to give political answers or to act as mediators in a process of change.

"In the eyes of most members of the military Nato means nuclear weapons and alliance scenarios," said one American recently.

Excessive self-congratulation on alliance successes is not what is needed. Events in Eastern Europe since Gorbachov came to power are not just the result of resolution shown by the West, even though this was a major factor.

They have primarily resulted from social and humanitarian changes initiated by the CSCE process.

Through the CSCE the West and the neutral states have been able to free themselves from the straitjacket of a rigidly demarcated sphere of influence which has characterised post-war Soviet policy without upsetting the military balance of power.

Without this major success the Vienna negotiations would not have been possible and Gorbachov would not have been able to pursue his course of reform.

Nato is above all a forum for political discussion between the United States and its European alliance partners.

It will only be able to successfully help shape changes in Europe in cooperation with other European institutions such as the European Community, the Western European Union (WEU), the framework of Franco-German cooperation, and the CSCE.

Furthermore, it will no longer be the primary tool of America's European policy. The Western Europeans have come of age and their influence now carries appreciable weight.

The Federal Republic of Germany also assumes a key role as a major buttress of the alliance. This makes the German Question a leading item on the agenda.

Many politicians in the alliance have realised that it is high time to place greater emphasis on Europe's significance.

Hesitation to engage in an active policy is connected to a considerable degree with the unresolved German Question.

A decisive aspect for the future is whether it can be integrated into existing structures.

The appropriate response is not an awesome underestimation of what has been happening in the other German state since the mass exodus from the GDR began and the first signs of a possible change there became apparent.

What is needed is the creation of a new framework for the security of the two alliance systems with the help of the arms reduction talks in Vienna in order to prevent destabilisation in Europe.

This can only take place with the involvement of the United States and Canada, which are bound to this objective by their signatures to the Helsinki final act.

Security at a reduced level of armament remains a major prerequisite to a solution of the political problems which have remained unresolved since the European continent was divided.

The German Question may then be defused and its solution achieved in an all-European framework. This in turn presupposes "new thinking" on the part of Nato.

The changes in Eastern Europe show that the historical developments of peoples and nations cannot be suppressed in the long run in favour of ideologies.

The post-war order is being questioned. Nato must face up to this fact.

What is more, the Western Europeans can utilise Nato to influence American policy in their own interests. Day-to-day persuasive power is more important in this respect than an "overall concept."

All military considerations should be subordinated to this approach. Otherwise Nato will simply remain a means of maintaining the status quo, assuming the same function as the Warsaw Pact so far.

Jan Reifenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 October 1989)

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views as an orthodox Communist." He failed on two scores: to visit Washington and London, which would have really added the finishing touch to East Germany's international recognition.

He also failed to reconcile people in the GDR to socialism as practised there: both economic policy and home affairs.

The GDR has the highest living standard in Eastern Europe even though it may have marked time for a while. But domestic tension has increased since Mr Gorbachov's reforms in the Soviet Union.

It came to a head when mass demonstrations were held in mid-October all over the GDR. In Leipzig alone over 100,000 people took to the streets to demand reforms. As these demands for greater freedom of travel, more democracy, greater legal security and real elections grew steadily more vociferous, the ageing state and Party leadership showed growing signs of uncertainty.

Under Honecker there have been many changes in the GDR since 1971, but the police and security authorities were ruthless in the treatment meted out to young people who impatiently took to the streets.

Herr Honecker has left his successor, Egon Krenz, a tough legacy. He may have found this hard to imagine, having written in his 1980 biography that he could not remember any time in his life when he had had the slightest doubt about the (communist) cause.

His resignation "on health grounds" and the appointment of Egon Krenz as his successor mark the end of an era.

It remains to be seen whether people's expectations of the post-Honecker era will be fulfilled.

Peter Nöldechen

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 19 October 1989)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

The changing nature of the campaign over 40 years

The Düsseldorf-based Federation of German Trades Unions (its German initials are DGB) was established 40 years ago on 13 October. Rudi Mews examines how the ideas of both sides of industry, employers and employed, working together in a social partnership, have replaced the class struggle.

When the music began it made a great impression on me. Behind me I could hear some men sobbing. I was weeping like a boy."

In this way Wilhelm Gefeller, chairman from 1949 to 1969 of IG Chemie, the chemicals industry trades union, recalled the opening of the foundation congress of the Federation of German Trades Unions on 12 October 1949 in the German Museum in Munich.

The orchestra played the overture to Carl Maria von Weber's *Euryanthe*, Weber's opera which gives opera directors so much trouble striving for harmony between the music and libretto. Was that an omen?

Figures of speech should not be pushed too far, but did not the way the congress was opened give a foreboding of the fact that most of these trades unionists would not become class fighters?

Even today they open their congresses usually with music associated with the educated classes. Trades unionists have always wanted to be some-

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

body. In the Kaiser's times there were even trades union government officials.

Ludwig Rosenberg had selected the *Euryanthe* overture. He was a member of the first DGB board of management and from 1962 chairman of the federation.

Rosenberg's father was a Jewish businessman in Berlin. The young Rosenberg was a social democrat and a trades unionist. During the Nazi period he fled to London in exile.

Historian Michael Schneider wrote that his personal charm broke down the traditional image of the worker or class fighter in the trades union movement.

Did the first DGB chairman, Hans Böckler, possess more of this quality? During the Weimar Republic Böckler was the social democrat opponent of the major of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer. The two clashed again in 1951 when Adenauer was chancellor and Böckler chairman of the DGB.

After some tough haggling and strike threats, Böckler set up codetermination in the coal, iron and steel industries. This was a form of worker participation in management but included as well workers' responsibility for the commercial decisions of their companies.

This was certainly a pioneering move for the development of dialogue between employers and employed in the young Republic.

In the course of time, however, this codetermination was watered down by the employers and their lobby in the Bundestag (Parliament).

Böckler called for codetermination in his first speech at the establishment of the federation. He also said then: "As trades unionists we must emphasise over and over again that we regard as dubious the 'neo-liberalism' which is prevalent in West Germany today."

(The term neo-liberalism implies the principle of maintaining "order" and "competition" in a social free market economy.)

He continued: "Trades unions must demand active job-creation policies against this situation. We need an extensive and clear plan, which shows how and where everyone who wants to work, whether a West German or a refugee, can be usefully employed. Such a plan, however, presupposes a planned economy."

It is well known that nothing came of that. It is worth remembering that a guest speaker in Munich was a man whose name is synonymous with the free market economy, Ludwig Erhard. He stirred up the delegates from the 16 trades unions, who were establishing their umbrella organisation.

He said: "I know that we do not always have the same views of the means and methods to be employed. But I would like to make one point quite clear, that we have the same material aims, namely to serve the German economy."

The Federal Republic's first Economic Affairs Minister was well aware of the lead he had. Six months before the *DGB was founded he had set policies in* motion which were dead against a planned economy.

This did not prevent that differences of opinion colliding in discussions within the DGB on a new programme of fundamentals in 1963.

Otto Brenner, the then chairman of IG Metall, the metalworkers union, clung tenaciously to the Munich demands of 1949 for the transfer of key industries into a *Gemeinwirtschaft*, that is the profit objective being subordinated to certain economic and socio-political goals.

Brenner said that class society still existed. He said that the employers' power and influence was still in place, that the economy's enormous profits, its financing and explansion was gained at the expense of consumers and the working classes.

Trade unions and their membership (in thousands)

The DGB
Total membership 7802
Metal, engineering 2625
161 Police
1220 Public workers, transport
187 Teachers, scientists
471 Posts
393 Commerce, banking
145 Insurance
330 Wood, synthetics
Railways
253 Textiles, garments
271 Catering
340 Mining, energy
43 Hortic, Agric, forestry
468 Construction
47 Leather
Chemicals, paper ceramics — 663
Media about 185*
DGB
Not in DGB
Civil servants 787
White collar 497
Christian 307
*At March 1989 © Globus

Eventually the new DGB fundamental programme of 1963 recognised the economic and social structures, which had developed in the Federal Republic after the war.

Trades unions in the Federal Republic are far less inclined to be class fighters than their counterparts in Italy, France or Britain. This criticism comes from that group of trades unions which concentrates more on ideology or party politics.

Since its inception the DGB has consciously been weak on these points.

The splintered aims of the trades unions in the Weimar Republic made them easy game for the Nazis. Some trades unionists took part in the official march on 1 May 1933 celebrating Workers Day. On the following day Hitler's Storm Troopers raided trades union headquarters and beat up the few dissidents.

Social democrats, communists and Christians talked about a future non-partisan, industry-based union in concentration camps. But their joint "Buchenwald Manifesto" of 13 April 1945 still spoke of the "predators of the capitalist economy."

The DGB, at its congress in 1982, renounced fundamentally this communist component of its non-partisan, industry-based origins which came from the concentration camp. Communists have since then had no more chance for influence in the unions making up the Federation of German Trades Unions than in the whole of the post-war period or the Cold War.

Elections have been the unerring witness of this. Only one member union of the DGB has a member of the German Communist Party on its board of management: the wood and synthetics trade union.

The DGB has to a large extent achieved its aim of "uniting various political currents." The ideal way between planned and free market economics, however, which many trades unionists saw in the *Gemeinwirtschaft*, ended in financial disaster.

The bankruptcy of Neue Heimat, the trades union-owned property organisation, showed that its own failures contributed to its downfall.

And the trades unions have not come out of the *co op* débâcle unsullied.

However, the unequal distribution of incomes has shown in the past few years how important it is that workers' representatives always call for participation in economic prosperity in wage and salary negotiations with managements. Nothing is given to them.

Heinz Adolf Hoersken of IG Metall, chief manager of the CDU employees association, wrote in the recent issue of the textiles and garments trade union magazine: "Last year managements' incomes increased by ten per cent, workers only had a 3.8 per cent pay rise. That endangers the symmetry of society."

Chat about the threat of a "trades union state" has nothing to do with the social realities of the Federal Republic. The expression does have a meaning, however, which those who first used it would find unwelcome.

As one side of the worker-employer social partnership the trades unions have seen to it that the shorter working week, increased holidays and pay rises were always financed by increased productivity.

Investors and those employed have worked for this. Industrial peace is an advantage the Federal Republic has as a location for industry.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl who, in 1984, in the largest and longest industrial struggle in the history of the Federal Republic, described trades union demands as "stupid and foolish," thanked the DGB on its 40th anniversary for the "partnership and cooperation" of trades unions and industry.

Klaus Murmann, president of the employers association, wrote to the DGB on its 40th aniversary: "I would like to recall that collective bargaining functions with only two partners. As one of the twins in collective bargaining autonomy I can console myself with the DGB. You cannot chose your relations but you have to get along well with them."

Rudi Mews

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 October 1989)

■ THE ECONOMY

Controversy over rise in interest rates in an effort to head off inflation

The Bundesbank, the Federal Republic's central bank, has increased interest rates for the fourth time this year. They have not been so high since 1982.

The Frankfurt-based Bundesbank's move to tighten the reins on its monetary policy not only affects businessmen, who have to finance their investments with bank loans, but also consumers.

Anyone who wants to build a house or buy a car will have to pay more for a mortgage or credit.

The Bundesbank has taken this action to counter the danger to price stability, looming large again, and to direct the booming economy into calmer waters.

The Federal Republic's economy, under pressure from the boom, is showing signs of wear. The mechanical engineering sector, the chemicals, car and building industries have been operating to the limit of their capacities for months.

Delivery dates have had to be extended. Workers have been continuously having to put in overtime, but the stream of orders has not stopped.

At the same time the economy is awash with money. Hefty profits have been produced.

The situation is explosive. For some time now demand has been way ahead of production possibilities — which calls virtually for price increases.

After a temporary pause there are signs that inflation has been increasing since the end of the summer. Inflation has now moved over the three per cent level and the tendency is still upwards.

Nevertheless the Bundesbank is being reproached for superfluously increasing interest rates, simply keeping in line with international arrangements.

It is true that since the last conference of the International Monetary Fund European central banks have tried to force down the dollar. It is now hoped that with an international round of interest rate hikees the over-valued dollar will be hit.

Higher German interest rates could hardly put a brake on the dollar exchange rate. The good economic conditions abroad constantly give the dollar impetus. In addition there are the speculations of major investors who daily move $300bn about thre world on a rising dollar.

The Bundesbank can do very little against these powerful interests.

The Bundesbank is well aware that Federal Republic financial policies can at present only influence the structure of international currency to a limited extent. The interest rate increase was directed at domestic targets.

When the third phase of tax reform comes into effect at the beginning of next year, private households will have more money available, so that demand will be boosted. Companies will also enjoy tax relief.

On the other hand there is the threat of serious wage disputes. The trades unions made it quite clear that they will be asking for pay increases to the agreements which employers have enjoyed for the past three years.

It is not surprising that the metalworkers union, IG Metall, is determined this time to push through demands for a 35-hour working week.

The head of the engineering industry's employers association, Werner Stumpfe, and the head of the union, Franz Steinkühler, have both said that they intend to be tough with each other in the bargaining ahead.

In view of well-filled orderbooks, and production capacities almost bursting at the seams, many companies fear that in the middle of a most glorious boom they are to be lamed by strikes.

It would have fatal consequences on the present situation if employers had to swallow the bitter pill of another cut in working hours and huge pay increases. The costs of wage negotiations have their effect immediately and in full on prices.

If after seven fat years there is a wage-price spiral, sooner or later there is the threat that the boom will end and another downswing in the economy will set in.

Workers would get no joy any longer from increased wages they have battled for because the pay increases would be eroded by increasing living costs.

The Bundesbank sees this danger clearly. Contrary to Economic Affairs

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Minister Helmut Haussmann, the bank is far too experienced to question the bargaining rights of employers or employees and to dupe both sides with appeals for moderation.

The Bundesbank's intentions are simple and effective: the less prices increase the easier can trades unions and employers come to an understanding.

On the other hand the Bundesbank is indicating with its interest rate policies that it is not prepared to finance every wage increase with feeble monetary policies.

Stability will be gained if the Bundesbank is successful in holding prices in check. That is the best incomes policy.

Andreas Richter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 October 1989)

Continued from page 4

Ludwig Erhard and Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder in their 25 March 1966 Peace Note.

It stated that "all endeavours to achieve security and disarmament can only succeed if the causes of tension are eliminated at the same time."

In other words, "in Europe the German Question must, first and foremost, be equably settled by the German people being granted the right to freely determine their political and social system and their destiny."

The note also listed a catalogue of proposals. Herbert Wehner said on behalf of his party in the Bundestag that the Federal government could count on the Social Democrats support. Our efforts to improve relations between Germany and the USSR must be continued without interruption even though Soviet policy might convey the impression that its sole objective is to achieve for the part of Germany that is separated from us international law parity with the Federal Republic. That cannot be the true objective of such a large state, of a world power."

A note of this kind, were it to be issued today, subject, of course, to consultations with the allies, would need to make it clear to the international community what our aims are and how we envisage achieving them.

Some such move is urgently needed inasmuch as we ought to be leading the way in forming opinions on issues that are of immediate concern to us.

The attempt to outline a point of view and state where we stand would have a beneficial domestic effect if it were to dispense with dogmatism as the only way to find common ground.

Doubts whether what we in the Federal Republic have thought and done have understa[illegible] in the long post-war years, especially in view of the inflexible nature political circumstances have come to assume.

For the most part, however, what we thought and did was right. Unity in freedom remains our objective and will pave the way to a European peace order.

The present makes heavy demands on our economic and military potential and, above all, on our ability to provide political leadership.

We may have reason to be grateful to the young men and women who have joined us from the GDR this summer and autumn for having helped us to give our policy a fresh lease of life and to put it back on to the right course.

Günter Diehl

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 13 October 1989)

After the fat years come... more fat years

The Biblical image of seven fat years and seven lean is again doing the rounds in the economy. The boom has lasted so long and at present there are no signs that seven lean years are on the way.

Employment increases, exports climb dizzily to new heights, profits are good and workers have a gratifying share in the "Economic Miracle" of the 1980s, according to the optimistic view expressed in the Bundestag (Parliament) by Labour Minister Norbert Blüm.

In 1981, the year before the change of government from the SPD-led coalition to the present CDU/CSU/FDP coalition government, real incomes dropped by 1.8 per cent.

Under the present government workers have had 7.5 per cent more in their pay packets between 1985 and 1989 — enough for a wonderful 14-day holiday as Herr Blüm noted, a man never embarrassed by pithy comment.

His wonderful outline is incomplete, however. In industry the question is being asked who has had the largest share of this upswing. In short, it involves the division of the wealth created by economic growth.

Remaining with the image referred to by the Minister, workers have been able to have a pleasant short holiday in Majorca. But employers have come out of it with a holiday of several weeks' duration in the Bahamas.

The gap in the division of incomes has not been so wide since the end of the 1950s. In 1982 salaries and wages accounted for 66 per cent of the national net income: last year it was just over 57 per cent.

Certainly in this period salaries and wages have increased 18.2 per cent, but that is only about a half of the average 35 per cent increase of the national income.

The net income of industrial activity and wealth has increased much more swiftly — about 74 per cent.

Do such figures fan the flames of class or election struggles? Is there here fresh food for social envy? Anyone wanting to get a full picture of the social realities of the Federal Republic in 1989 must take note of these developments.

The superiority of a democratic, free market system comes from its ability to recognise deficiencies and to remedy them with reforms — doubtlessly after tough social debate.

And that is imminent if emplpoyers are not prepared to share profits appropriately with workers, profits which have grown faster than ever in the history of the Federal Republlic.

The trades unions have contributed decisively to this development through moderate and long-term wage agreements (along with the policies of the Bonn government).

Contrary to all prophicies of doom, in a period when the working week has been reduced the competitivity of the Federal Republic's economy has increased even further.

The single European market, scheduled to come into effect in 1992, has became a universal argument when it comes to talking about making the Federal Republic more attractive as a location for production, or more honestly put a place where profits can be made.

It is not convincing when warnings are uttered like pious prayers that in an export-oriented country like the Federal Republic the labour factor cannot become more expensive, in view of the competition from countries with cheap labour costs.

The Federal Republic has become so successful on international markets not despite having high social standards but because of them.

In the long run innovation, high technical standards and reliability can only be achieved with highly-skilled, highly-motivated and well-paid workers.

Industrial peace, maintained until now, is one of the advantages of the Federal Republic as a location for production. It is been based on a fair compromise.

Some major companies, through one-off payments, have sought to ensure that their workers do not feel themselves excluded from economic developments, since prices are at present rising faster than the wage increases resulting from long-term wage agreements.

The coming round of wage talks will not be as relaxed as they might be, because they are taking place in 1990, a year which will be hectic due to national elections.

Equally, whether or not it comes to strikes as in 1984, a negative consequence has already emerged in the catching up that has to be done in wages and salaries.

The scope for redistribution of income has never been so great in the history of the Federal Republic as it is now.

There is no talk, however, of using this redistribution of wealth, not only for further reductions in the working week, but to combat the continuing mass unemployment problem.

Obviously seven fat years have made both head and heart sluggish.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 6 October 1989)

■ THE STOCK MARKETS

Lessons from the nosedive: it's not quite a casino



As the pall of powder-smoke gradually recedes, we can see more clearly what caused the latest international stock market crash.

Banal though it may sound, the second crash in as many years was triggered by the failure of an airline takeover bid, leaving the airline in the previous owners' hands.

This "failure" was enough to plunge investors into panic, first on Wall Street, then in the Far East and finally in Europe, where Frankfurt and Germany were, in relative terms, particularly panic-stricken.

Inundated by sellers, markets plummeted. When stock was taken after Monday's trading in Europe, it was the heaviest index decline in one day since the Federal Republic was founded 40 years ago.

True, a setback had been expected given that markets had boomed for several years, but no-one was expecting it to be so serious.

Are there winners and losers of this latest Black Monday? There certainly are. The winners are those who stayed level-headed and snapped up shares as prices plummeted. They were, for the most part, the banks, insurance companies and institutional investors.

The losers were the small punters who remembered 1987, when prices slumped from bad to worse, and decided, in keeping with the axiom "the Devil takes the hindmost," to sell at any cost.

Not every investor will have lost money on the price originally paid, of course, but many clearly have their doubts whether the boom will last.

An even more crucial factor was widespread distrust of public advice and those who dole it out, such as the banks, who cautioned investors not to panic and sell.

The state of the economy, they said, was far too sound both in Germany and elsewhere to justify selling at any cost. Yet many small investors cast caution to the winds.

They will, of course, have remembered that others benefited when they heeded the banks' advice and held on to their shares in 1987.

Two years ago the large-scale investors were the ones who sold while the going was good. They were sitting pretty when shares continued to nosedive.

This time the small punters decided to be smarter. But institutional investors, unlike two years ago, decided to bide their time — and came out on top again.

Is the small punter always the fall guy, no matter what he does?

Stock markets are governed not just by facts and figures but by moods and, especially, by information.

Those whose information is a step ahead of the rest can mint money on the strength of it.

Small investors are in a much better position to keep abreast of market news nowadays than they used to be. Newspapers, financial magazines and newssheets provide a wide range of services.

Maybe punters ought to make more use of them. They certainly aren't always well advised by banks and savings banks, many will have felt.

Inadequate advice needn't mean the banks don't want to provide a full range of sound stock market services, but some, especially the small fry, simply lack the wherewithal.

Advisory services are growing steadily more important as international capital markets are interlinked.

Time zones being what they are, one major stock market or another is in business somewhere in the world at all hours of the day. When one closes, the next opens.

Institutional investors make use of this time lag by moving enormous sums to and fro around the clock, with computer back-up, to make the most of their money.

But the closer the ties between capital markets, the greater the risk of a virus spreading along "when Wall Street sneezes, Europe catches cold" lines.

This adage may be exaggerated, but it contains a kernel of truth.

This is bad news inasmuch as even in America itself there is a growing awareness that the United States is heading down the slippery slope, as shown by the latest trade deficit, which triggered fresh market tremors.

From being the world's leading capital exporter the United States has long become its foremost capital importer and debtor.

Were it not for European investors and Japanese funds in particular, the United States would be worse off in many respects.

So little is needed by way of gifts of prophecy to predict further stock market upsets.

But what can be done about them? Japan, where the Tokyo stock exchange reacted most composedly to the latest crash, may perhaps point the way to an answer.

Europe would be well advised to launch a single currency and set up large capital markets to ensure a greater degree of independence from the rest of the world's markets.

The small punters, strange though it may sound, have a contribution to make.

It would certainly be bad if they were to slink off and sulk in a corner so soon after having grown used to the idea of investing in stocks and shares.

The fact remains that share ownership — holding equity in listed companies — is the only way in which to gain a foothold in productive assets and economic growth.

Investors were well aware even before the latest crash that *investing in stocks and shares means running risks, that risks* are inevitable.

Investors can *make money*; they can also lose it. Yet it would be wrong to dismiss the stock exchange as little more than a casino on this account.

The stock market is an essential feature of a working market economy. The more informed investors are involved, the better.

There is strength in numbers. They make the market wider and less dependent on foreign orders.

Josef Roth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 October 1989)

■ AEROSPACE

Daimler-Benz man reaches for the stars and keeps everyone informed about it

Jürgen Schrempp, head of the new Daimler-Benz aerospace holding company Deutsche Aerospace (Dasa), is keen on being an accessible entrepreneur. In the media age, he feels, an executive must bear the public in mind and shun secrecy. He must aim at transparency rather than at a behind-the-scenes, closed-door scenario.

Schrempp is a name in the news just now. On Thursday *Der Stern* published an article of his on disarmament and *Die Zeit* an article about Schrempp himself.

On Saturday there was an article by him in the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, on Monday an interview with him in *Der Spiegel*.

Jürgen Schrempp, chief executive officer of Deutsche Aerospace (Dasa), the Daimler-Benz aerospace holding company, spends much of his time briefing journalists.

His aim is to put himself and his views across as a brand-name product, a product held in the highest possible public repute.

The way he describes himself has much to do with what Schrempp, 45, feels an industrial executive must do in the media age.

He must include the general public as often as possible. He must ensure transparency, openness, glasnost. He must *think* in terms of public appearances rather than of beavering away behind closed doors.

Dasa's Schrempp is an executive with political flair and skill. His recipe for success is demonstrative canvassing for his cause.

His mentor, Daimler-Benz chief executive Edzard Reuter, overcame opposition by dint of personal charisma to set up Deutsche Aerospace.

Schrempp feels the outgoing way Reuter handles publicity is excellent. He is banking on the same card.

He attaches equal importance to the effect he has on his staff. He is keen to be an accessible entrepreneur.

One day a week at his desk ought to be enough. On the others he aims to "tour the companies in person, to make informal contact with people."

That is an ambitious objective. "People" are the 76,000 mainly mistrustful staff of four separate Dasa subsidiaries: divisions of AEG, Dornier, MBB and MTU.

His target is to make them think of Dasa in the first person plural. But his software, motivation, can accomplish only vague results without the corresponding hardware.

Dasa has the technologies with a future but for the moment it must come to terms with the present and reorganise.

Profit centres for individual products and clear-cut demarcations of responsibility are planned as prerequisites for efficient management.

A number of planning groups have been set up to handle the wide-ranging tasks as fast as possible.

By setting precise deadlines Schrempp hopes to keep their life-spans as short as possible and to avoid an epidemic of "commissionitis."

Decisions are to be reached — and made known — by the year's end on the shape the group is to take. A dozen tough personnel decisions will need to be taken by Christmas.

Situations vacant include the heads of military and space technology at Dasa subsidiary Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB).

During the merger talks Reuter and Schrempp set out both to give the German aerospace and arms industries a new look and to play the German card in Europe.

The second move must be made before the group has been streamlined. But, as Schrempp says: "The waggons are rolling and can no longer be stopped."

The international arms industry is certainly on the move. Siemens and Plessey have joined forces and other links are being forged.

An aerospace planning group chaired by former Dornier manager Hans Ambos is working on a matrix by which to make the most of holdings and inter-company investment in Europe and North America.

"Interdependence can be substantial," Schrempp says, outlining the difficulties.

"Once you have decided in favour of a company in a given sector you have automatically decided against several others."

Schrempp has paid inaugural visits to all leading aerospace companies in the European Community and the United States.

His room for manoeuvre where international holdings are concerned is 25 per cent of Dasa's capital. Daimler-Benz intends to hold on to 75 per cent so as not to forfeit overall industrial control.

Schrempp is anything but an ex-Army type. Journalists feel his personal commitment to disarmament is genuine. In all publications he is highly rated as an anti-militarist.

The transition from military to civilian production will be the acid test of his success or failure at Dasa, where arms sales now make up just under half the combined turnover.

Deutsche Aerospace is the 14th-largest arms manufacturer in the Western world.

Schrempp aims to make the consequences of disarmament "plannable" and "socially compatible" at Dasa.

He has set up a planning group to help ensure that they are, and he expects politicians to show equal foresight.

What must be avoided at all costs, he says, demonstrating his political acumen, is the impression of having done something merely so as to be able to argue more convincingly that armaments are still needed.

One main reason why Bonn was so keen to see the merger go ahead was the reorganisation of Deutsche Airbus it would entail.

Critics will be on the lookout to see whether the new German management succeeds in persuading its French opposite number to transfer Airbus final assembly to the Federal Republic.

Whether the Airbus will, in the long term, be a goldmine or a financial disaster for Daimler-Benz and Deutsche Aerospace will not, however, depend on Jürgen Schrempp's management.

Began by selling trucks... Deutsche Aerospace chief Schrempp. (Photo: dpa)

Airliner prices and the dollar exchange rate will be the crux of the matter.

Schrempp is an engineer by trade. He spent the first half of his working life selling Daimler-Benz trucks.

But he has soon cottoned on to aerospace terminology, which he handles skilfully and self-assuredly, having learnt by doing — in much the same way as politicians do.

He is only in his mid-40s but has learnt to think in the long-term perspectives of the aerospace industry.

They *are* long-term perspectives too, so no-one can accuse him of just talking big.

"Once you have grasped the outline of projects such as the Airbus," he says, "you can be sure of being able to make use of what you know for 10 or 20 years."

Heide Neukirchen

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 8 October 1989)

A voyage to remote black holes plus other distant adventures

The photo of the century will be relayed to Earth next March or April, said Jesco von Puttkamer in a platform debate at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Puttkamer is in charge of long-term strategic planning at the Office of Space Flight of the US National Aeronatics and Space Administration.

Early next year, he said, Voyager 2, which was about to leave the solar system, would relay a unique photograph of the Sun and planets.

It would be assembled in mosaic fashion from a number of individual exposures and depict the Sun surrounded by the dots of light that are its planets.

But the outermost planet, Pluto, which circles the Sun on a most eccentric orbit, was unlikely to be seen on this historic snapshot of the solar system, he said.

A golden age lay ahead for astronomers, the Nasa expert told his Frankfurt audience. Voyager 2, it will be remembered, recently sent back sensational photographs of Neptune, while Galileo, just launched, is bound for Jupiter.

From next year the Hubble space telescope will supply views of the edge of the universe. Another observatory will probe sources of gamma radiation in the universe.

In the near future, Puttkamer said, scientists would be able to probe the universe in all spectral sectors, from gamma radiation via the visible range to infra-red radiation, and gain fresh insights into original matter, black holes, quasars and so on, up to and including the very origins of the universe.

Nasa, he said, was not just forward-looking. It had also assessed the results of past activities.

Detailed surveys of the practical benefits of space research had been commissioned to substantiate claims that space technology had been of enormous benefit to trade and industry.

Detailed research had identified 250 products that unquestionably owed their development to space research programmes: from the original idea to practical non-space use in series production.

Sales of these products were said to total billions of dollars.

Jürgen Rüttgers, aerospace spokesman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, sounded a more sceptical note.

As chairman of the Bundestag's technology consequences review committee he sees part of his job as being that of looking after the interests of space research in the political sector.

He said he had found, to his surprise and subsequent annoyance, that politicians changed arguments in the space debate almost as often as they changed their shirt.

Microgravitational research might be felt to merit priority one day, but terrestrial surveying could be sure to hold pride of place the next, followed by the benefits to be derived from medicinal or technological uses.

The chain of cause and effect must, he felt, be demonstrated much more clearly and in greater detail. Otherwise credibility would be forfeited and space research would be the loser.

Herr Rüttgers was critical of space research in the Federal Republic in another respect too. It couldn't be right for space research to remain a purely government preserve, he said.

Taxpayers were at present paying not only for launcher rockets, satellites and space probes; they were also refunding industry and other users the cost of using this equipment.

Users must definitely come to realise that in future they would be required to foot much more of the bill.

A number of bureaucratic hindrances must first be removed, he admitted.

Bonn could not, for instance, advocate the widest possible dissemination of information gleaned from space research.

To be more precise, it could not do so while at the same time encouraging the pharmaceutical industry to carry out research programmes in space at its own expense.

In theory it would then expect the findings to be made available to competitors who had not run this risk or made this space research outlay.

Anatol Johansen

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 October 1989)

■ BOOK FAIR

No complaints about reader indifference

Security was tight at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The reason: an author who was not at the show and a book that was not there either. But Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* is appearing this month for the first time in German — by a consortium of 19 publishers from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The Frankfurt show continues to grow year after year: this year, 113,117 square metres are being used for 8,189 exhibitors (224 more than last year) to display 378,699 titles (up 39,851). Of these, 114,392 are new titles (up 11,532). Next year, the fair is expected to need another 18,000 square metres of display space. Only one declining factor is noticeable: the number of countries represented — down from 95 last year to 93. The main cause is economic difficulties in some Latin American countries.

We should not fool ourselves; books are only of interest to a minority, and literary works only to a limited extent.

They also only make up a small part of the giant show, mounted by the publishing world, at this year's Frankfurt Book Fair, but their visual attraction is nevertheless considerable.

The book fair follows close on the heels of the Frankfurt motor show for public interest.

This has something to do with the book trade's flair and the scandals it gets involved in. Even people who do not read like to see the protagonists in person.

For a long time the book has not been able to get very far by advertising itself: it depends on the media. The areas highlighted are relevant here — last year Italy, this year France — lavishly packaged. This means belles lettres à la supremarket.

This year Eiffel Towers, baguettes and bottles of Blanc de Blanc were provided to give an appetite for the successors to Baudelaire and Balzac.

The French paid out four million marks for all the fuss. They were more modest than the Italians who forked out 12 million marks last year for the show they put on about themselves.

What they had to show of literary interest was rather pathetic. There has not been a boom in publications of Italian origin in publishers' new books lists.

The same could happen to the French. But is that just tough luck?

A smart critic said recently: a life without books, without music would not be one jot the worse. But life with Mozart or Thomas Mann would be just that much more wonderful.

The book fair is ready for such modest but effective comments.

The fair drums up business for itself with presumptuous superlatives; the same was done again this year. More than 8,000 publishers took part, displaying 380,000 titles, of which 115,000 were new publications.

The complaints about reader indifference, literary illiteracy and the death of the book trade were forgotten. It seems as if for six days we nourished ourselves with the printed word. Instead of overfilled stomachs we had thick heads. That was good for our figures and for our intellects.

All the ballyhoo was fun too, like a short-story with an open ending.

That is why we need the fair every year. No one denies that the fair has value, an entertainment value.

Some literature (especially German literature) can come out of it well to some extent.

Claudio Isani

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 October 1989)

An appropriate message from an absent prize winner

When the West German publishers' and booksellers' association awarded Czech dramatist Vaclav Havel this year's Peace Prize it could be assumed that Havel, an uncompromising civil rights fighter, would include "his theme" in his acceptance speech.

This theme is "the attempt to live in truth." But no one dreamt at the time just how appropriate what Vaclav Havel would say would be, nor how timely the comments made by French philosopher, André Glucksmann, would be.

Glucksmann delivered the eulogy at the awards ceremony in Frankfurt, which Havel was unable to attend.

Peace is not just the laying down of arms and the absence of war, as so many in Europe's Peace Movement at the beginning of the 1980s, meant.

Peace also means security under the law, protection from the arbitrariness of rulers, respect for human dignity and people's inalienable rights.

Havel is not the only intellectual in Eastern Europe who understands this, and he has written about state-sanctioned lies and against ideological blindness.

This is why he was not allowed to travel to Frankfurt to receive the Peace Prize. The communists in power in Prague feared his words, even spoken at a distance, which would not coincide with their verbal contortions and which would be believed because his words would not serve those who held power.

Havel advised us to listen carefully. He said that it made a difference who said what and when it was said.

In socialism as it exists today peace means something different to what it does in the West. For instance it means the political and cultural peace of the graveyard.

Czech authorities fear Havel's words. (Photo: dpa)

This explains why Havel and the other members of Charter 77 are suspicious, when Czech party leader Milos Jakes uses words such as glasnost and perestroika.

The way the Prague regime deals with its most famous critic, this alone, shows that those in power do not mean what they say.

Their use of these expressions is meaningless. They hope they can cling to their power, which is being challenged with them.

Why, when they talk about perestroika, could Jakes and company not bypass dissidents like Gorbachov? Andrei Sacharov was an "anti-socialist element" under Brezhnev and Chernenko. Anxious rulers in the Kremlin exiled him to Gorki and hoped to silence Russia's conscience by so doing.

Gorbachov ended this arbitrariness. Today Sacharov can speak to western politicians and journalists without hindrance, and he can travel abroad if he wants to.

Havel wrote: "The power of those without power survives on the powerlessness of those with it." What is currently happening in the German Democratic Republic is a belated confirmation of this point.

The powerlessness of those with power has become obvious, as well as their helplessness in view of a development, which they could not plan for, because they had refused to take note of the facts.

If those practising "real, existing socialism" had listened to Havel they would not have been surprised by events.

In his final statement before a court in February he advised them that "it will help no one if the government waits until the people demonstrate and go on strike. It can all be prevented simply by relevant dialogue and good will, and by listening to criticism.

"I hope that the state authorities will eventually stop acting like an unlovely girl who smashes the mirrow on the wall because it is to blame for her looks."

Havel did not only hold up the mirror to the state authorities in the East, but also to western intellectuals and politicians.

He called upon them to look carefully when plans are made for a common European home. The project will only endure if freedom is added to peace.

Glucksmann said that freedom would allow those involved "to walk upright

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Rediscovering the unbiased French story

Two congress halls, built in the 1960s in Frankfurt's fair complex, were given the elegance of a French name at this year's Book Fair: Pavillon Bleu.

Here the highlight of this year's fair was staged: France and French literature.

In the main hall new books, old books, books from France, books about France were on display. There was also a frivolity with a deeper meaning: equipment giving out recorded information.

At the press of a button the visitor could listen to classical texts from French literature. One could listen to texts from the foreign sounding protocol which Joan of Arc made to the sonorous verse of Victor Hugo.

But this was a frivolity. The event did not deal with the great traditions of French literature. Alain Lance from the Institut Francais in Frankfurt, who planned the programme, decided to present the younger generation of writers.

This was exciting for German visitors to the fair. For the past few years French literature has had the same problems as German literature. Obviously the French solution is different to the one applied here.

From platform discussions, in which young French writers took part, it was obvious that there are no longer schools of literature in France with definite aesthetic programmes and approaches to the world.

The ideas of a literary avantgarde, which gave intellectual momentum to society, are also dead. Jean-Claude Montel, born in 1940 and for many years publisher of a literary magazine, complained heatedly of this.

He said that French writers only had sales successes, but their books no longer had any influence. For their readers they had lost their extra-literary authority.

Astonishingly most of Montel's writers did not feel uneasy that they were not involved in current literature. They were happy that they were not under pressure from an avantgarde school of writing and unanimously scorned the last concept of French modern writers, the *Nouveau Roman*.

The only one to be spoken well of was the old avantgarde writer Philippe Sollers, who had just at the right time rediscovered the unbiased story, and ensured that one got a hearing in the literary magazine *L'Infini*.

The polemics of these young writers should not be misunderstood, however. These writers do not want academic art, no return to the realism novels of the 19th century.

Novelist Jean-Pierre Setan said that this epic approach was too narrow and excluded too much. He said that it was not a matter of literary doctrine but writing stories about today. This meant not modernity, but being current.

Marc-Edouard Nabe made it quite clear that this should not lead to adjustment without resistance. Last year he published a novel, full of characters. It mixed poetically the droll with the picturesque, and contained a sharp statement on the literature business.

He said passionately that it was important that a writer should write without consideration of rules. He should only think about the writing. He should not feel himself to be in the melting pot of social interests.

As in the Federal Republic there are many in France who talk about the decline of literature. Obviously the writers, who came to Frankfurt, had been able to adjust to this.

They showed that it was possible to write about today's society, if one thought through realistic the change in the function of narration.

The platform discussion showed that there were cultural differences about the key themes of the 1980s: the women's movement, for instance.

French women in the discussions answered Ursula Krechel, who spoke of the woman's view of reality, by concentrating their ideas on the women of the French Revolution, who had fought for sexual equality. But these French women could not see a female mode of thought, special female good sense.

It was worth visiting the Pavillion Bleu. It was not a show of literary achievement; there were no literary stars, but precise information.

Joachim Campe

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 October 1989)



■ FILMS

Contrapuntal montage round the camerata nuclearis

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

There is hardly a film festival going which does not present an old classic, either in a restored version, the original complete work, or a silent film with the original full-orchestral accompaniment.

The Mannheim International Film Festival follows this pattern of making its programme more attractive with an old film.

At the end the organisers presented René Clair's *The Italian Straw Hat*, made in 1927 but with music especially composed for the film in 1983.

Is this nostalgia for a cinema world that seemed still to be in order?

The festival's major prize for the best début film went to Dieter Weihl from America for *China Lake*. The region referred to in the title is a former nuclear bomb testing range. But the film makes no reference to this, in fact there is little reference to anything, and this gives the film its atmosphere.

There is a family gathering in the Nevada Desert. The rituals of unrelatedness are only broken when the young brothers and sisters get closer together on a trip to Las Vegas.

The whole is beautifully photographed. It is to some extent a road movie, a little like *Paris, Texas*. Not entirely new, then.

The Canadian Morley Markson showed another aspect of America in his documentary *Growing up in America*. The film deals with former activists in the 1968 student movement and what became of them. Archive footage provides material to ponder on the transitoriness of the past, but it remains a dialogue film.

It was not explained why he was given the special prize for a politically-involved film.

The work of two Munich film students was much more deserving of this prize, *Die Macht liegt woanders*. It was given a "Filmdukaten" or "Film Ducat," however, the name given to the Mannheim prizes.

This film, by Nikolaus Remy-Richter and Stefan Tolz, shows how a film can be a documentary and at the same time entertaining and informative.

They were on the spot with a camera in Lübeck when citizens demonstrated at an annual [illegible] industry against the constant carriage via Lübeck of nuclear waste to the special dump at Schönberg in the GDR and the use of the port for transhipments of nuclear cargoes to Scandinavia.

Reality itself provided irony: at a sitting of the Lübeck parliament the commentary quotes from Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, and at the opening of the nuclear technology conference a "Camerata Nuclearis" plays Mozart.

Advocates and opponents of the protest create a kind of contrapuntal montage when they have their say, and a plucky mayor says: "The state survives on the power of resistance and citizens' resistance."

Documentaries were the best part of the festival this year round. Among the feature films there were only two, visually run-of-the-mill, but with their own creative power.

The young Austrian film-maker Michael Synek was awarded the Josef von Sternberg Prize for the most unconventional film. His film was entitled *Die toten Fische*, based on an early story by Boris Vian.

It is a parable on the theme of the master-servant relationship set in a timeless fantasy-world. The hero of this absurd, surreal story, fishes postage stamps from bubbling water in a marshland. He sends them to an anonymous boss, who lives in a museum-like, sumptuous hall.

The protagonist has to pass through a Kafkaesque labyrinth of gratings and a sewage system, in which a pack of white rats are drowning.

This is a black-and-white nightmare with a vivid sound-track.

Saied Ebrahimifar looks back on the life of a dying old man, almost without a word being spoken. He lets the old man's life glide by like a visually-colourful symphony, full of catchy picture compositions, which recall the allegoric tableaux of a Paradzhanov.

The jury gave this film from Iran a special prize for films from the Third World.

The Third World is traditionally as strongly represented in Mannheim as film-makers from eastern Europe. This was reflected mainly in past years by the decisions of the jury. This year, however, only Poland was successful, twice in fact.

"Filmdukaten" were awarded to Dorota Kedzierzawska for her psychological study of an old couple in *Das Ende der Welt*, and TV documentary film-maker Andrzej Fidyk for his *Die Parade*, a study of the 40th anniversary celebrations in North Korea, but mainly an insight into what is almost a religious cult surrounding the "wise leader," Kim Il Sung.

The GDR has also celebrated a 40th Anniversary. GDR documentary film-maker Volker Koepp was given a "Filmdukaten" for his *Märkische Ziegel*, frames of sadnes in the small town of Zehdenick.

A choir sings "Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten, daß ich so traurig bin," in front of the town hall. Bricks from the town's large brickworks were used to build up Berlin at the turn of the century. Nothing seems to have changed much since then.

The works' dressing rooms and showers are in a pitiful condition. The workers comment on them with resignation. They have given up hope that anything will change.

The film helps the viewer to understand better the news coming out of the German Democratic Republic at present. During this year's Mannheim Festival the pictures on television coming from the GDR were often more dramatic than the films shown on the screens in the festival.

Heinz Kersten

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 15 October 1989)

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with dignity" and to be heard without censorship.

The speech in Frankfurt will have its effect in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, where it could be picked up by television by some of the population.

It will also have its effect in the Federal Republic: people will understand better the precarious situation of people living under "real, existing socialism."

Seen in this light the speech was a contribution to cultural unity in Europe.

Members of the Peace Movement in the West will have to ponder on freedom when in future they talk about peace.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 October 1989)

Abbie Hoffmann (left) and Allen Ginsberg in *Growing up in America*.
(Photo: Mannheim Film Festival)

A funny thing happened as we gobbled up the classics

In the 1960s three young men were studying at the Munich television and film academy.

They regarded themselves as members of the rock-'n-roll vogue. They greedily gobbled up film classics, and one day came across a book which they could not forget.

The book was *Christiane F. Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* by Kai Hermann and Horst Rieck (taken from taped interviews). Hermann Weigel wrote the script for the film *Christiane F.* directed by Uli Edel and produced by Bernd Eichinger.

Director Uli Edel said it was the strongest material he had ever read, when reflecting later on the even stronger material he had come across in his student days.

Bernd Eichinger, working with Hermann Weigel, this time as co-producer, has whistled up $17 million to make a film under Uli Edel's direction of the cult book *Last Exit to Brooklyn*, which Hubert Selby published in 1957.

The book is apocalyptic. It is made up of six prose sections with Biblical motives, but obscene, sad, brutal and compassionate.

The three from the Munich academy have not transposed the individual stories in the book, either into an episodic film or polished out Selby's rugged prose into a conventional story.

The film *Last Exit to Brooklyn* puts the stories loosely into a plausible whole with a factory strike acting as a connecting link.

Decayed streets in dirty gray and blue tones surround the characters in the film like a prison without bars. The people in this district of low dives, houses ready to be pulled down and miserable living conditions are like characters from Red Hook Brooklyn, which an old Dylan song tells about: "Always on the outside, whatever side there was."

The characters are lost, drunks, strays and people in despair: GIs before they are shipped out to Korea, transvestites, gangs of hooligans and one-dollar whores.

Harry Black, a trades union shop steward, is the furtive main character, the sufferer, who during industrial action rattles the bars of the factory gate as if he would like to break out of his sad existence.

His aimless searching leads him to a transvestite party and into bed with a man. He throws about the union's money and appears like a helpless big mouth.

He finds just as little friendship, appreciation and security as the derided transvestite Georgette, whose longing for love is the consequence of humiliations, which end in death.

Georgette is run over by a car driven by Hubert Selby himself, who crosses himself beside the corpse.

The burnt-out Harry's passionate path ends on waste land. Vinnie and his gang beat him up mercilessly, because he has assaulted a young lad. They leave Harry hanging like a person crucified on the reverse of a billposter board.

The requiem merges into hope in soft tones: a baptism, a marriage, the end of the strike. And like an avenger with a flaming sword the 14-year-old Spook saves the peroxide blonde whore Tralala from the last of a gang of rapists. He beats him with a burning piece of wood.

Despite all efforts the film seems powerless and soppy, but this is not because of this conciliatory coloration of the final sequences, nor the supposed difficulties of filming unfilmable literature.

The craftsmanship is unimpeachable and the film is judiciously cast: the German dubbing is also acceptable. Nevertheless the film is only a faint shadow of the original, a brief survey of an open-air museum with the rubble and outcasts of a ghetto world as exhibits.

Eichinger said enthusiastically of Selby's book that it was "literature at eye-level, almost already cinema." But there is nothing of this to be seen in the screen version of the book.

The film's view of things can be recognised right at the first take. From a high point the camera pans down, a descent into limbo.

With elegant crane movements the film rises up like an omniscient narrator over the action, so as to be able to sink gently away at the end.

In the crucifixion scene the view is taken from the height of a fence on a de-

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■ STUDENT LIFE

It's still not too bad — but only if you can find a place to live

There is a countrywide shortage of 190,000 places in student hostels. There has virtually ceased to be a market for private lodgings. As the winter semester starts, students all over Germany are desperately looking for somewhere to stay. This article, by Dirk Kurbjuweit for the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*, looks at the situation in Cologne.

Cologne student Alexander Harzheim, 22, isn't very particular about where he stays during the semester, but he would, of course, prefer a room of his own.

He obviously wouldn't feel happy sharing a cellar with a dozen flat-mates. But that's what it looks like it's going to be.

He has very little choice. He comes from Giessen and is studying engineering at Cologne Tech. For lack of anything better he is stuck, for the time being, with a makeshift place to stay in the cellar of a student hostel.

It is lined with seven double bunks, one up, one down, barely a yard apart.

There are grey workmen's wardrobes, small tables, a few chairs, textbooks, jamjars, socks laid out to air on the radiators.

It is nearing midnight and the decibel count is gaining momentum as fellow-students return from an evening spent sampling Kölsch, the city's most distinctive beer.

Returning students are chatting in at least three languages and laughing in an even wider range of octaves. Some of the cellar-dwellers are half-asleep, one has managed to doze off. A Tunisian is murmuring German vocabulary he is trying to memorise.

What really upsets Alexander Harzheim is the dirt in the showers. The tray is lined with hair in all colours, from blond to black, from straight to curly. The plughole is blocked by plasters. But he no longer cares. He has finally found a room of his own. He is moving there tomorrow. He can count himself lucky. About 500 Cologne students will have started the winter semester without anywhere to stay, says Lothar Ruschmeier, the city's welfare commissioner. The 3,305 beds in student hostels have long been allocated, and a further 1,700 students are on the waiting list. As for private apartments, not a hope! In Cologne 27,000 people are registered on the municipal waiting list as in need of housing. Most need somewhere inexpensive, just like the city's students.

Students need somewhere particularly urgently. College classes have already started, the university semester is due to start in a few days' time.

The situation can only be described as an emergency, with all that entails, from emergency accommodation to what might be termed self-defence.

Instead of attending lectures, freshmen tend to scour the city for lodgings. They usually start by poring over the small ads in the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, the local paper.

But students generally draw a blank. Last Saturday a mere five rooms were on offer at rents of DM300 a month or less.

They usually go on Friday night when hundreds of home-hunters mob the *Pressehaus* and snap up Saturday's paper hot off the press.

Students who fail to find somewhere to stay from the local paper soon join the queue at the housing agency of the *Studentenwerk*.

It opens at 10 a.m. on weekdays. A queue usually forms from about 8.30 a.m.

In the office, at 10 a.m., Helga Heiermeier lines up the day's offers. It is Friday. There are 35 of them.

Impatient students knock on the door. The first three are let in. Over 50 will thumb through the cards in the next two hours. Their reactions are predictable.

They will be disappointed with the rooms available, in despair at having queued up in vain for the tenth or twelfth time, perplexed as they pore over the city map on the wall and at a loss, if they are foreign students, to understand terms such as *Familienanschluss*.

It means, roughly, that lodgers will be treated like one of the family — whatever that may amount to in practice.

Frau Heiermeier knows in advance most of the other questions she will be asked. "Where is Brühl?" "Where is Lindenthal?" "What is a WBS and how do you get one?"

A WBS is a *Wohnberechtigungsschein*, a certificate issued by the city council that, in theory at least, entitles the holder to preferential treatment in the allocation of low-rent housing. But what if there simply isn't any available?

Six or seven students are now in what is a crowded office, pushing and shoving, eager to get a glance at the next card.

Behind the four potted plants and two cactuses on the window ledge the Uni-Center, one of the tallest high-rise apartment blocks in Europe, can be seen through the window.

One-room apartments are still vacant. They have a total floor space of 25 square metres each. The rent is DM550 a month, which most students can't afford.

There are drawbacks to what the Studentenwerk has to offer too, of course. Most of its rooms are way out in the suburbs or on the other side of the Rhine, in untrendy neighbouring Deutz.

But is 25 minutes each way spent travelling between Deutz and the university too much to ask? Thousands of commuters do it. Frau Heiermeier feels students expect too much.

A female student enters and returns a card. "No good," she says. The room wasn't too bad but the landlady's daughter has to go through it to get to her own room. "I would like a little privacy," the dispirited student says.

The phone rings. A new offer. The landlord says his tenant must be a female student, a non-smoker who travels home at weekends ("please double underline that!") and doesn't have a pushbike.

Why ever not? Ours not to wonder why. Specifications such as these are the rule, not the exception.

Women are preferred to men, maybe because they are felt to be cleaner or quieter? Again, who knows? And medical students have preference over all others (might come in handy?).

Not infrequently, lodgers are expected to help look after a bedridden grandma. One landlord insists on his lodger being an armed forces reservist.

Another wants a "25-year-old arts faculty student." For intellectual fireside chats, maybe? But why a 25-year-old?

"Germans only" is an ashamingly frequent requirement. But most of Frau Heiermeier's customers are foreign students. They pass the card straight on with a bitter smile. The student housing shortage hits foreign students particularly hard. Their prospects of finding somewhere to stay in Cologne are virtually nil at present.

A 25-year-old male student from Tunisia imagined Germany as being so different from the country he now knows at first hand. In Tunisia the Federal Republic is reputed to be the richest and best country in the world.

He was keen to study sport in Cologne, which has a college that is rightly held in high repute. So it simply had to be Cologne.

He arrived three weeks ago and has since spent most nights camping out in a mosque. He first spent three nights in the main station. Home is now a grubby mattress in the hostel cellar mentioned earlier.

Whenever he rang any address and telephone number he had been given the answer was either "already taken" or "women only, I'm afraid" (even though that wasn't specified).

Few people would admit to not wanting a foreign student. Yet Adnen K., let us call him, speaks four languages and comes from a wealthy family. "At home I'm a prince, here I live like a clochard," he says.

He is shocked by the country that used to be his dream. He plans to keep on looking for somewhere to stay for another four weeks. Then, if that's how it is to be, he will be flying home.

Why are property-owners reluctant to let to foreigners? It *might even be a sense of solidarity. Solidarity with fellow-Germans.*

Someone with a room to let isn't going to let to a foreigner as long as Germans are stuck in station waiting rooms.

At the student hostel in Efferen, near Cologne, a hostel where most residents are foreigners, up to four students share a room nine square metres in size.

Even Chancellor Kohl is quoted, in a signed letter that appeared as an advertisement in most newspapers, as being "personally concerned" about the student accommodation shortage. He appealed to people with a spare room to consider leaving it to a student. But that seems a dead letter now ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and refugees from the GDR are arriving in increasing numbers. Cologne has already been allocated 7,000 for whom it must find somewhere to stay. What is more, the demand for housing is steadily increasing as more and more people prefer to live on their own. Supply simply hasn't been able to keep up with demand, especially as low-rent housing subsidies were virtually unavailable for years. If educational policymakers had got their guesswork right, there would be only 850,000 students at German universities and colleges. In reality there are 1.5 million, including 80,000 in Cologne.

The estimates were so wide of the mark that there are are 190,000 places too few in student hostels. Nine per cent of students live in hostels and halls of residence; 22 per cent would like to do so.

Swift agreement was reached in Cologne on readiness to help homeless students. But somehow or other, as so often in the carnival city, something went wrong.

The first move, by the AStA, or students' union, was to put up a camp of tents in the university grounds to ease and to draw attention to the problem.

The city council felt this idea hardly befitted its idea of Cologne as a metro-

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Long queues, short hopes. (Photo: Argus, Mike Schröder)

■ NOBEL PRIZE FOR PHYSICS

Jolting blows from a particle accelerator probe the world's innermost secrets

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

This year's Nobel laureates include yet another German, Bonn physicist Wolfgang Paul. Professor Paul, 76, heads the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

He shares the 1989 Nobel Prize for physics with German-born Hans G. Dehmelt of the University of Washington, Seattle, and Norman F. Ramsey of Harvard.

Professors Paul and Dehmelt share half the award, with the other half going to Professor Ramsey.

Their joint scientific achievement is to have probed the world of atoms and atomic nuclei and shed more light on it for both scientists and a wider public.

Their research work consisted of taking precision measurements of what might be called the world's innermost secrets.

The microscopic world of atoms and nuclei can be probed by stimulating reactions of all kinds to their surroundings, analysing these reactions and arriving at inferences as to their inner structure.

Powerful jolts of immense energy are needed to shake nucleons, the building blocks that make up atomic nuclei, and reveal their structural secrets.

That was why Wolfgang Paul concentrated from an early stage in his post-war scientific career on developing and working with particle accelerators, first in Erlangen and Göttingen, then, from 1952, as professor of physics at Bonn University.

In 1958 he and his staff built an electron synchrotron with an installed capacity of 150 million electron-volts, later increased to 450 million electron-volts.

That was enough to take a closer look at the structure of the building blocks that make up atomic nuclei. In 1967 a 2,500 million electron-volt synchrotron was taken into service.

Bonn University now has a 3,500 million electron-volt particle accelerator based on a new design known as a stretcher ring.

Professor Paul was not only one of the first physicists to appreciate the importance of using high-energy particle accelerators to investigate the structure of the world's innermost particles. He was also one of the first scientists to realise the need to lobby research policymakers.

Particle accelerators are not the only means of investigating microscopic structures and measuring them so precisely that their properties in various test conditions come to light and can often be put to practical use.

Professor Paul in Bonn and Görlitz-born Hans G. Dehmelt, 67, who studied in Göttingen and emigrated to the United States in 1952, in Seattle worked separately and arrived, in principle, at the same new idea.

Known as the ion cage, it was developed and first used by Professor Paul in Bonn in 1956. It can trap ions, as in a cage, and be used to investigate them in a wide range of ways.

The principle on which the cage, or trap, is based is that ions, charged particles, don't know which way to turn, as it were, in a vacuum full of swiftly changing electric fields.

They are "caught" and immobilised in the centre of the electric fields to which, by virtue of their variety and number, they are seemingly unable to respond.

Research scientists at the Max Planck Quantum Optics Institute recently succeeded in using an ion cage to merge ions in mid-air, as it were, forming a kind of crystal.

As the oscillations of atoms caught in this manner are particularly marked and extremely precise, Max Planck research scientists hope to put together, on this frequency basis, an atomic clock that is accurate to within a second in 30 billion years.

The Earth, incidentally, is about 4.6 billion years old and the universe an estimated 15 to 20 billion years old.

Wolfgang Paul and Hans G. Dehmelt, whose separate scientific careers have been devoted to research along the same lines, have opened up astounding opportunities of gaining a closer insight into the microcosm or micro-universe.

The same is true of Norman F. Ramsey, whose precision measurement of oscillating fields paved the way for the caesium atomic clock, which is accurate to a ratio of one to ten billion.

Since 1987 its oscillations have been the official measure of time itself. Exactly 9,192,631,770 caesium oscillations are a second.

Those who know Wolfgang Paul personally will be aware of another of the secrets of his success. His enthusiasm is infectious.

"Wolfgang Paul," Bonn University wrote on his 70th birthday, "is an enthusiastic university teacher who is as keen on teaching beginners as he is on coaching postgraduate students.

"For him research is not just the wellspring of fresh knowledge but a means by which to instill in young people his enthusiasm about science."

Professor Paul was born in 1913 in Lorenzkirch and grew up in Munich.

Rolf H. Simen

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 October 1989)



The ion trapper . . . physicist Wolfgang Paul. (Photo: dpa)

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polis. It suggested 100 caravans as an alternative.

The *Studentenwerk* said that would be a disgrace; it would also be too expensive.

Other suggestions have included couchette railway carriages, hotels and old people's homes — and the former head office of the *Verfassungsschutz*, the government's counter-espionage agency.

Eventually, emergency quarters were set up for 275 students in the student refectory and at student hostels. But the debate drags on, with the AStA much keener on tents or caravans.

Both would strikingly symbolise political neglect of the student community.

As makeshift arrangements are only tolerable for a limited period, 120 rooms are to be provided in the next six months by building wooden-framed prefabricated cabins, to be followed in a year's time by a new student hostel for 100.

But that is unlikely to be enough as student intake continues to increase. Some students have already suggested taking the matter into their own hands.

At a general meeting in Cologne College of Technology students debated whether the time might not be ripe for squatting again.

Dirk Kurbjuweit

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 13 October 1989)

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serted street. Screams and the sounds of beatings can be heard until the camera boom sinks down to linger over Harry's bloody face.

This mixture of non-participation and of the grimness of spellbound curiosity make up the dominating feature of the film: the observer, who holds back from the scuffles, the narrator who wants to show all but not be involved.

The distance of characters to subject, which develops from this, does not seem like narrative calculation, but functions like keeping an arbitrary safe distance.

Just at the point when the film is in the middle of events it stumbles into a kind of voyeuristic action without getting close to it.

The respectable intentions, which the direction shows throughout the film, are persistently checked through the aesthetic means selected and literally drowned out.

Mark Knopler's music lets the frames go to waste as just illustrations. Most of it is symphonic and floods the action: it hammers in anxiety and despair, death and danger through neat repeated series of notes in the densest way possible, before these become apparent in the faces and gestures of the actors.

Eichinger's announcement of the revival of the "Brooklyn mythos" is no more than a nostalgic trip into limbo, into the atmosphere of the 1950s with carefully roughed-up costumes and sets.

This is the way the youthful dream of the three Munich academy students has ended, like all dreams, which are fulfilled decades later.

The film, reconstructed faithfully but cleansed of all uncouthness and vitality, is so disappointing and flat that it is hard to understand that the book was once so disturbing and gripping. *Peter Körte*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1989)



Communal meals, communal prayers, communal singing and no divorce.
(Photo: M. Marx)

■ SECTS

Reaching for an original Jerusalem — life in a community of Hutters

Every day begins with a farewell. The night's hoar frost was disappearing from the fertile fields on the Westerwald uplands. A couple of dozen men were gathered at the entrance to Michaelshof farm.

These members of the Hutter community in Birnbach, a hamlet near the Austro-German frontier at Reit im Winkl, the only community of its kind in Europe, had come to say farewell to Gary, a Hutter community member from Canada.

The "brother from the West" had spent six months helping to build up the small community, Michaelshof.

Travelling, arriving and departing are common features in the life and the history of the members of the Hutter community.

"No television, no radio — and video only for the purposes of education"

Since the community was established during the Reformation its members have been persecuted, always escaping, always searching for new opportunities to realise their ideals of a life in "peace, love and justice" according to the Bible.

In the Middle Ages they were regarded as anabaptists and put on show in cages in cathedrals. Many were burnt at the stake, like the community's founder, Jakob Hutter. In 1536 he was burnt at the stake in Innsbruck.

Until 1621 they were able to find shelter in Bohemia and Moravia. Catherine the Great invited them to settle in Russia in 1770 and gave them, hardworking farmers, asylum.

But by 1874 the Hutter community was no longer welcome in Russia. Their refusal to serve in the army forced them out of the country, first to the United States, then Canada.

Following the Hutter community example in North America Eberhard Arnold founded a community in the Rhön in 1920. But in 1933 the community soon came into conflict with the Nazis through their school for orphans.

They did not find any peace when in 1937 they emigrated to Britain — at the outbreak of the war conscription into the army in Europe drove the members of the community across the Atlantic.

They went to Paraguay, then to the United States where in the 1950s they successfully established a community of their own in New York state, aided by Hutter community members who had been in the US for decades.

In March 1988 the "people with the strange clothes," as one person in Birnbach described them, arrived in Westerwald and for the past year they have been settled at Michaelshof near Weyerbusch.

Life on the community's farm is sparse. The people in the community are rich, rich in time for others, rich in patience and also rich in experience they haved garnered.

Life here has quite a different rhythm to life elsewhere. "Life is a festival and every day brings new joy," said Siegfried, who joined the community, with his wife, seven years ago.

He is now 65, his wife 60. They joined the Hutter community, as do hundreds of others every year all over the world.

Their new lives began with baptism into the new life. Community members only undergo baptism when they are adults, fully aware of what they are doing.

Former Protestants, Jews and Catholics are among the members of the eight

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Hutter communities in the world — what is important is not a person's origins but if the candidate, after a novitiate, fits into the community.

When a member of the community is baptised the candidate for baptism is asked if he or she is prepared to yield himself or herself up to God the Father in the bond of baptism. Siegfried said: "Our ideal is the original Jerusalem."

Renate, his wife, agreed with him. "Here I feel that the Word and the Deed concur. Our lives here have become more honest, our communication, as a married couple, deeper."

The idea has something utopian about it. The members of the Hutter community have had to deal with the problems which have beset all Christian communities at all times. There is often enough a gap between aims and reality.

Detlev said: "We live right in that gap. Before, my Christianity was far too lukewarm. I can no longer live the kind of life I find in the Bible in a Protestant church."

Are they then disappointed fundamentalists and people seeking an ideal alternative, who seek a new, decent world in the Hutter communities?

When members of the communities speak of "the others," about people who do not live in their rural communities, they do so with respect and without arrogance.

Naturally they canvass converts to attract as many people as possible to their way of life. "The world is the creation of God and all people as well. The question is what we make of it," Siegfried said.

"We want to be the followers of Christ to the extent that we radically change our lives," he added. The Hutter community members do not speak about Christianity, they tackle it.

This is a feature of Michael Holzach's ideas. He wrote *Das vergessene Volk*, published by Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag. And of those of Ulrich Egger, who wrote *Gemeinschaft — lebenslänglich*, published by Bundes-Verlag.

Life in this rural community is moulded by a unique mixture of family life, life in a monastery and a house in the country used by teachers for short visits.

The 1870s building of a former Catholic children's home and two small cottages provide the 60 members of the Hutter community at Birnbach with living accommodation, a place to cook and to work.

Individual families live with their children, as many as ten per couple, in small rooms and apartments. Many families share cooking facilities and the bathroom.

They take their midday and evening meal together, silently, while one of the brothers appointed gives a review of the events of the day from the newspapers.

The Hutter community people have nothing to do with television or radio. A video is shown only for educational purposes.

They do not have private possessions. Even their standard, simple clothing is an example of the concept that "everything is common to all."

People in the Hutter communities live together for life.

The Hutter community people can be picked out from other people by the black trousers and coloured check shirts of the men, and the greenish-blue striped skirts of the women, their dark head-scarfs with white polka dots.

They often have to deal with prejudice and anxieties, and not only in the Middle Ages. There were problems when they arrived in Birnbach.

Most of the problems have now been solved. Now they have been there a year the villagers have learned to accept their new neighbours.

The members of the Hutter community have a friendly relationship with the Protestant pastor of the district.

The children are most aware of the divide between the community and the world. Although the adults, already baptised, claim they do not see the division quite so clearly, one cannot help but notice how happy they are when their children are taken up by the state schools and of course by their schoolfellows.

From the age of two the children are looked after in a nursery, while the mothers work.

Expressing her enthusiasm for her work in the kindergarten Jutta said: "Children are a miracle." Members of

"On big occasions, there are satellite linkups between... the US, Canada, Britain and Germany"

the Hutter community have nothing to do with birth control or abortion.

The children are brought up bilingually. In the day-home they speak German, among the family English is spoken. This puts them at an advantage in the state further education schools which they attend in the local town.

The community aims at building its own school for the children of the community, who can be educated "in the fear of the Lord without contradiction between family and school."

In Hutter communities women have had a traditional position for centuries. The man is the head of the family, he is the breadwinner and keeps the family together.

The man leads the family not as ruler but as a partner. Siegfried said: "It is original Christian teaching that the woman is subject to the man." He cannot understand any worldly contradiction of this.

He said: "Everyone here has his or her tasks to do, his duties and his fulfilment. That is why no woman here feels herself to be under pressure or unhappy."

Anyone who sees the enthusiasm in the open, happy faces of the women will believe that immediately. One can draw one's own conclusions about family life in Hutter communities when it is realised that there is no such thing as divorce. Although many of the ways of life

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■ HORIZONS

Unseen strains from broken marriages

The most common cause of neurotic disturbances in children is parental separation. Among the many children who give the impression that the separation does not really matter, problems tend to come just the same — but later.

These are the findings of a Viennese psychoanalyst, Helmuth Figdor, who reported to the eighth German domestic court conference.

He told delegates he considered the belief widely held by parents, that children would come through a separation without major problems, to be false. He maintains that the only children who do emerge unscathed are those whose relationship with the father and/or the mother have been already permanently damaged. Other children react with anxiety, disappointment and suffering. He found that the number of children who do not allow their feelings to be seen is astoundingly high. Such children react apparently reasonably — and a weight falls from the parents. But he says that the reality is different. The children simply push the suffering away because they sense that the parent who remains with them does not want the separation to have any effect on that child or children.

Neither do these children themselves want to recognise that they are hurt. A suppressed or unrecognised suffering can, however, be neither overcome nor come to terms with.

The suffering, Figdor told the conference, was not just because of the loss of a parent. At the same time, "belief in the enduring nature of love is hit." When a child experiences the ending of love between its parents, it senses at the same time that there is also no guarantee that the love of the mother or father for it will continue indefinitely. The child's feeling is that if one parent can leave the other, then a parent could also leave it.

Figdor said that many children also had feelings of guilt. Specialist literature estimated that between 50 per cent of 70 per cent of children of broken marriages felt guilty or partly guilty. Figdor's own work led him to believe that the proportion among small children was even higher.

He attributes this to the egocentric world of the small child in which it relates all of its experiences to itself. Often, children are in fact the cause of disputes in the marriage. But children do not speak about these feelings of guilt. Instead they push them to one side and express them in aggression.

Figdor needed a lot of [illegible]ence and needed to build up feelings of confidence in order to be able to talk through the problems in the cases he studied. Precisely at the point where the remaining parent felt most weighed down by the situation, there was often neither the time nor the readiness nor the capacity to continue. Figdor considers these weeks and months following the separation to be the most critical.

Despite the pressures a marriage breakdown means for children, Figdor says that parents should not come to a commonly held conclusion: that they should remain together "for the benefit of the child." The strain for children and their development could be even worse in such a situation than in a breakup. Mostly, the children get caught in a difficult case of conflict of loyalty. In addition, for a child to develop happily, it needs parents with at least a degree of satisfaction with their own lives. If parents stay together on the sole ground of consideration for the children, then the danger is that, unknowlingly, they will pass on guilt feelings for their spoilt lives to the children. Children have sensitive antennae for such situations.

Figdor considers it extremely important that relations between separated parents are maintained — whether the breakup is voluntary or court ordered.

Figdor told the delegates, who included judges, lawyers and youth authority specialists, that access should be prevented only in extremely isolated cases. Even if agitation, tension and irritation occurred before and after visits, the continuation of a child's relationship to its other parent was extremely important for the child's psychological development. That applied even where one parent or both entered a new relationship.

It was also necessary to understand the fears of the parent with custody that they might lose the child to the other parents on the ground that, as a rule, less conflict occurred during periodic brief times of access than from a situation where two people were together day after day.

Figdor is not impressed with the idea of a child living for half a year with one parent and half a year with the other. Studies had shown that only parents were satisfied with this approach. But it meant a strain for children over a long period.

Gerd Rauhaus
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 October 1989)

Domestic-court judges call for laws that can be understood

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Such things are the stuff that amuses the specialist and comforts the layman: domestic court judges are putting themselves in the dock. At the eighth German domestic court conference, the question was put: "Have we made domestic law too complicated?"

Ulrich Deisenhofer, a judge in the Bavarian centre of Kaufbeuren, confessed to guilt: the already complicated enough law had been made even more opaque. "We have even invented new forms of cases in order to be able to compose beautifully formulated decisions."

In order to demonstrate that these legal niceties were not aimed at selfglorification but to serve broader matter of legal justice, Friedrich Lohmann, head of the bench at the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe, drew examples from domestic law in East Germany and some Islamic nations.

In East Germany, claims for alimony end two years after divorce. In Islamic law, a woman has to support herself after 100 days following divorce. Lohmann, whose bench is the highest arbiter on this issue in this country, asked about this, the main area of dispute in the entire area of domestic law: What is it that causes an uneasy conscience in the matter of maintenance money?

Lore Maria Peschel-Gutzeit, a judge, surprised with a simple answer on the contradictions in a divorce-happy society in which the question of these maintenance payments remains disputed: "Those who have to pay do not accept the maintenance provisions. But those who receive the money find them adequate."

Frau Peschel-Gutzeit is to become a member of the higher regional court in Hamburg. She has pledged that one thing will be avoided: anything that smacks of conceit by the bench.

Although the lawyers did not want to level complaints at the lawmakers in Bonn, they did call for the elimination of a few clauses in the maintenance laws and the abolition of completely contradictory clauses which even professional wordsmiths could not straighten out.

One judge who remains unnamed offered the gathering a ray — or perhaps circuit — of hope in the form of the pocket calculator. It made possible to carry out the most complicated maintenance-law calculations in marks and pfennigs. It was now manufactured so cheaply that even the poorest (poor through their own divorce) of the 1,500 German domestic court judges could afford to buy one . . .

Marianne Quoirin
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 16 October 1989)

Child deaths leave parents facing a harsh world

Every year, 17,000 children in Germany die through illness, in traffic accidents or by suicide. Parents talk of the isolation and feelings of guilt which ensue.

A conference held by the Catholic Caritas organisation in Munich discussed the problem. Most of the people who came were parents who had lost a child. Most were learning to come to terms with the tragedy with self-help groups. One young mother whose child died suddenly as a baby explained that through a self-help group, she had gained the courage and energy to carry on.

In an age where the limits to dying and death have increased and where small families live in islands of isolation, parents are more vulnerable to suffering than ever before. They suffer from feelings of guilt, marital problems and have to face a society which turns away because it has forgotten how to handle grief.

"We'll never be able to come to terms with it." Even after many years, the suffering remains. Outsiders cannot remain unmoved by the plight of affected parents. Fears are no more taboo than anger or aggression.

One father whose child was run over asks why no damages are payable. Targets at the meeting were the insensitive way police told of deaths and the anonymity of funerals after post mortems. One speaker said the state, in effect, had impounded his deceased children and had not allowed the parents to see them. The parents wanted to farewell the children and dress them for the coffin. They said they could endure that better than having nightmares later that perhaps it was not their child that had been buried.

Dieter Bürgin, a professor for child and youth psychiatry, told the meeting that people must be allowed to feel the death of their children for themselves: "The certainty of death is simpler to cope with than a cruel fantasy about it."

Michael Schibilsky, a professor for social ethics, said there should be a room in clinics and pathology departments where parents could be alone with their dead child, a "Gethsemane room."

He regretted that in the caring professions there was an ineffective communication ritual, a dismissal and a lack of reflection. The incompetent helper would say: "Wait. You'll see that in the morning, the world will look different."

Then there are the role clichees that are trotted out to fathers. One speaker said work colleagues asked how his wife was in a tone which suggested that he himself was no longer sad because, after a week, he was again at work. And bosses should show more consideration if work performance was below par for a while.

One father who ran over his small son, said: "Through my job, I lost my child. Now, I am losing my job because of the death of my child."

Parents who have lost children in traffic accidents find themselves haggling with the justice system when the offender is not jailed or at least parted from his or her driving licence. Parents are even unwelcome in the courtroom. One father, who said that others affected should in such cases act as co-plaintiffs, said: "Judges want to keep emotion outside, but I wanted to meet the rowdy who killed my child."

Parents whose children kill themselves are particularly prone to being cut off from society. Suicide is taboo, just like 10 years ago people avoided mentioning children and cancer in the same sentence.

A mother said: "No one can remove our guilt feelings. But we're also people with failings." Yet they were left alone as if they were somehow damned. "It's dangerous for us. We might do the same thing one day."

Kerstin Möller
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 October 1989)

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and customs of the people in the community might seem antiquated to "emancipated" people making swift judgments, the members of the community are well acquainted with modern technology.

The administration has a telephone and a fax of course. On big occasions, such as a marriage, the eight communities in Canada, the US, Britain and Germany link up via satellite.

The new community of 60 in Birnbach, which should expand to the normal size of a community of between 150 and 200, has to be fed. Agriculture in West Germany is not profitable, so the members of the Hutter community offer their handicrafts.

In their workshops they produce children's toys and therapeutic equipment for handicapped people. The raw materials come from Britain, but they are put together here.

After a year their marketing has developed astonishingly. At the Reha '89 trade fair the Hutter community from Birnbach had its own stand and they were happy at the business they did from it,

But there are dangers in extensive involvement in business. One brother said warningly: "We could lose the centre of our lives."

The newly-established community in the Westerwald promises to be very successful. The enthusiasm and the optimism, with which the community members go about building up their farm, is impressive. From the original 25 it has become now a community of some standing.

Guido Heinen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 13 October 1989)